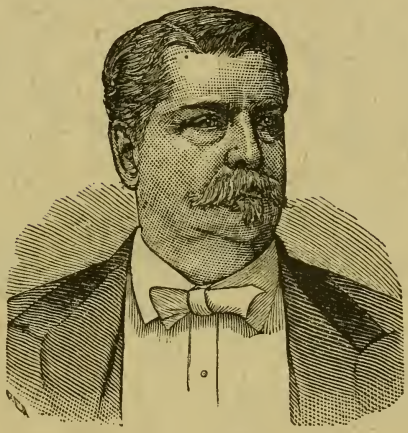
SOUTHWORTH'S

LIFE OF

GENERAL WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK,



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD.

EMBRACING ALSO ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HON. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, HON. WADE HAMPTON, HON. ABRAM S. HEWITT, HON. ROGER A. PRYOR, HON. DAVID DAVIS, HON. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, HON. ALGERNON S. SULLIVAN AND HON. JOHN KELLY.

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(WITH PORTRAIT,)

BY

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PREFACE.

In preparing this biography, I have used only the material placed in my hands by those having authority from Gen. Hancock. I, of course, except those original contributions from distinguished Democratic and Independent statesmen, which form the notable feature of this volume. These accomplished publicists, in choice phrase, and with impressive and hearty cordiality, the better distinguish the dominant sympathies and subtler intellectual gifts of the Democratic candidate.

New York, July 20, 1880.

PRELIMINARY.

THE author has received the following letter and contribution from the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, who in the National Convention was the second choice of the delegates to the position for which Gen. Hancock was nominated:

WILMINGTON, DEL., July 5, 1880.

Dear Sir: I am very glad to know that a thorough presentation of Gen. Hancock's life and record is to be laid before the American people.

The better he is known, the more, I believe, he will be trusted and loved. Let me draw your attention to an extract from a speech made by my late father, James A. Bayard, in 1868, at a meeting held to ratify the nomination of Seymour and Blair. There was no man in America who comprehended and valued civil liberty, or that kind of statesmanship which creates and preserves it, better than Mr. Bayard, and no indorsement could be more impressive than his.

Yours truly,

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

The following were the words of the late James A. Bayard:

My own preference was for Gen. Hancock, who was not only a great and gallant soldier, but he was endowed with the views of a statesman and patriot. His course in New Orleans was precisely that which a wise and sagacious civilian would have pursued, and his correspondence, and especially his letter in reply to Governor Pease, of Texas, was a document that would do credit to the ablest of statesmen. I do not believe that there are ten lawyers in the United States who could have written that letter, or one superior to it. It was for these qualities, and his firmly-expressed views that the military should be in all times of peace subordinate to the civil power, that I believed him to be the man of all those that had been named best calculated to secure the suffrages of the people, and to be the standard-bearer of the great American Democracy.

INTRODUCTION

BY

HON. THOMAS F. BAYARD,

U. S. Senator from Delaware.

Why have the delegates of the Democratic party nominated Gen. Hancock for the Presidency? He has never held a civil office; true. He has a military record as brilliant, as glorious as that of any man in America. Why have the Democrats nominated him, a military man? It is because this man has proved that God gave him the same characteristics of conscience, of self-control, which he gave to the good and great Washington. And this is not an excited utterance in the heat of a political campaign. It is the deliberate statement of a man striving to see the right and to follow it. Since the world was, no influence has ever proved

so dangerous and corrupting to men's hearts as the love of power. What were governments called "free governments" designed for? They were to protect the weak against the strong, to protect the minority against the majority; they were intended to put checks upon power. And the great difficulty has been, and the dangers to liberty have arisen from this fact—that whenever men have been intrusted with great power for protecting other people, they have been too apt to use it to perpetuate their own sway, and to become, therefore, tyrants and not limited governors. There is the largeness of the human heart which has made the name of Washington so conspicuous that, when power was in his hands, when he swayed the votes and controlled the hearts of his fellow countrymen, he laid down that power at the end of his term, and retired to the privacy of his home. It was that which made him conspicuous among great men and rulers. Soldiers great as he are many in history; civil rulers great as he are also many in history; but how many are there in history who, intrusted with vast power, voluntarily and willingly laid it down and stepped back into the ranks of private life when power could have been held and

used? Such is the keynote to the nomination of Gen. Hancock before the people. He has had power, and great power; he has been a military governor over States of the Union, over large portions of his fellow countrymen, where his will could have been made their law—where, at his pleasure, the liberty of every man was in peril—and what was his course? What was his course alone of the military governors we have seen in this country for the last fifteen years? When he was asked in Louisiana or Texas to arrest men, he demanded, "Where is the judicial process?" When he was implored to try men by military commission, he pointed to the court-house with its judge and jury-box. When he was asked to confine men, to take from them their property or liberty, he asked, "Where is the law for this?" Who also, among the military governors of this country—and there have been among them soldiers distinguished in the field, perhaps as bold and courageous as he, and that is saying a great deal—has refused to exercise, within the past fifteen years, arbitrary power when he had it in his hands? And this course he followed while the party in power were centralizing the Federal Government because they

controlled. Why was it? We are all citizens of a State and of the United States; and why was it, after an experience of a hundred years, we could not be trusted to conduct our own elections? If you put men in the Federal jury-box, or in the jury-box at the State court-house, are they not the same citizens? What can it be, then, that will make a man a better judge because he holds the title of a Federal office? I only mention this to show one of the means by which this party has sought to retain itself in power. But back of that always there was shown the hand of military power, to enforce, if necessary, and advance Republican success.

In 1876 we came to the polls, and very nearly 300,000 votes more were cast for the Democratic nominees than for those of the Republican party. There was not only a popular majority at the polls, but there was a majority of some 30 votes in the electoral college. What was done? The cabinet at Washington, controlled by the military spirit of a merely military man—a man who never laid down power willingly, who never put power away from him when he could exercise it—sent troops of the United States, under the suggestion

of his Secretary of the Interior, who was also Chairman of the Republican National Committee, the late Mr. Chandler of Michigan; and he had his willing aid in Mr. Cameron of Pennsylvania, his Secretary of War; and at their bidding the armed forces of the United States, without any protest upon the part of any man in charge of them—without any protest from any quarter among the officers commanding, but with all the ready alacrity of General Sherman, with the complete concurrence of the officers in the Southern States, they sent troops to Columbia in South Carolina, to Tallahassee in Florida, and to New Orleans in Louisiana. And for what purpose? To protect these boards of canvassing officers in a deliberate perversion of the results of a popular election. It was done, and the returning boards at New Orleans, and at Tallahassee, and at Columbia, usurping powers that did not belong to them, overthrew majorities, turned them into minorities, made false returns, and thus electoral votes were claimed to be counted. It is a fearful thing for men to live under a government they do not respect; it is a vain thing to hope that republican institutions shall continue unless the people

respect themselves. The Democratic party looked on, and saw that by a combination of fraud and force the result of the election all over the country was changed by the conduct of the administration at Washington which I have described—changed by military threats sustaining fraud.

All this we propose to end, and we propose to end it by placing in power a man who, although a distinguished soldier, never forgot that his citizenship was a higher title. It is the logic, the inevitable logic of the election of Winfield Scott Hancock, that the civil shall be supreme above the military power; that sectionalism shall not be allowed as a party cry; that what is called and known as the "bloody shirt," shall be folded up forever, and that the American people shall be brought together as one people under one government, and with equal rights and affection for it. That is the result of this man's election. These are the logical results to follow, and he has proved it.

I do not mean that there are not many who love liberty as well as he. I do not mean that there are not many who may know more of the details and complications of civil government; but I do say there are none who have

been so tried, and have proved that they possess that elevated, that lofty self-control which induces them to lay down power at the command of conscience. That is why I maintain that all over this land he should be sustained; and when Republicans ask, "How can it be that you, who have always talked against military candidates, have yet taken a man who is nothing but a military man?"—you may answer that "We do not take him because he is a military man; we admire his courage, honor him for his gallantry, love him for his patriotism, and admire his honesty. But he is something more than that: he is not only a soldier, but he is a man of the highest personal character and intelligence; he is a citizen imbued with the knowledge of what citizenship means; he is a citizen under a government of laws, and he is a believer in the profound maxim that the civil should always be superior to the military power. That is the reason why we have chosen him, and chosen him at this time. And if the war for the Union is to be a success—and God grant it may be—*what better illustration of the success of the war could any one ask than to find a man who led the hosts of the Union receiving the*

vote of every man who drew a sword against it? Talk of your victories! What victory is like that —the victory that can turn a foe into a friend, can bring back the citizen to his allegiance? If that be not the fruits of statesmanship, pray tell me what it is?

WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, July, 1880.

LIFE OF

GEN. WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

CHAPTER I.

"To know well the local and natural man; to track the silent march of human affairs; to seize with happy intuition on those great laws which regulate the prosperity of empires; to reconcile principles to circumstances, and be no wiser than the times will permit, is a task which they will fear most who know it best."

HANCOCK TO-DAY—HIS BIRTH AND BOYHOOD.

THE man, the story of whose life is told in these pages, has now reached an eminence rendering him one of the most conspicuous figures in Christendom. However fascinating it might be to speculate on the career before him—a career which, if the temper and appreciation of his countrymen remain unchanged, will by the popular mandate make him the twentieth President of the United States—there is still in the fifty-six years of his life a great and noble existence devoted to the public service,

from which no just pen can fairly detract, and which no sober mind can honorably ignore.

Forty years wearing the uniform of the nation, taught in its historic academy the profession of arms, bearing its flag triumphantly against foreign and domestic foes, his giant figure standing upon a low Pennsylvania mound upon the birth-day of American Independence, and there shattering by a masterly blow the legions of the victorious invader; and afterward, when the arms were stacked, and a helpless and bleeding section of the country lay piteously pleading for reconciliation, pronouncing the restoration of civil rights, the fraternity between Americans no longer at war—the Constitution before the bayonet—who shall say that there is not in this life, the life of this brave soldier, of this accomplished officer, of this wise and prudent statesman, this loyal, gentle, and catholic nature, a lesson apart from that we draw from the leading careers of Our Time?

Coming now to an ultimate promotion, and one not made by party machinery or shrewd political device, he is brought forward by a broad national sentiment, and presented upon the merits of his natural gifts and varied acquisitions for the chief

magistracy. This, if one would divine the popular instinct which commanded his nomination, simply presents a figure to mankind that embodies the best thoughts and aspirations of the American people.

Significant is it, too, that in this year 1880 he appears as a central and positive personality in a world-wide question, entering into all the policies of the nations of Europe—that the statute should prevail before the cartridge, the law before the military edict. That the history of such a man, should he be elevated to the Presidency, would not have a salutary influence upon the progress of those peoples struggling for liberal forms of government in the Old World, is left in no manner of doubt, for it was even Napoleon himself who paused amid his victories to note the death of Washington, and praise his services to liberty in an impassioned proclamation to his soldiers; and should this man be called to the head of the nation, pursuing his ever upward and onward course, who shall say that now, when the sceptre of power is departing from the hands of the time-worn monarchs and old-school statesmen across the sea, that America may not offer to the world, in the person of her next President, a vigorous

embodiment of all that is great, and grand, and good in a free constitutional republic as understood in the Western Hemisphere.

Winfield Scott Hancock was born on the 14th of February, 1824, at Norristown, Pa. Both on his maternal and paternal side he comes from Revolutionary ancestry, and the name of Hancock in the historic annals of Pennsylvania was already proudly honored before the Democratic candidate was born. His paternal grandfather, who fought gallantly for the liberation of the colonies from the mother country, was, during the long war of the Revolution, one of the bravest defenders of the colonial confederacy until, having been captured at sea and claimed as a British subject, he was imprisoned in the Dartmoor dungeon in England. His maternal grandfather and great grandfather served in the Revolutionary armies, the latter enlisting when but fifteen years of age. The elder went through the wasting campaigns of that war, and subsequently died from exposure and hardship in the field.

General Hancock's father proudly kept up the records of his ancestors. He too was a soldier, a soldier in the war of 1812, and when hostilities

ceased with Great Britain he became a lawyer of prominence in Pennsylvania. When there he lived honored and respected, watching the upward career of his son, until he died, ripe with years and honors, after the close of the war. He was a man of fine and distinguished bearing, of conservative inclinations, and was widely respected in the vicinity in which he lived.

The family of Gen. Hancock resided at Norristown during his boyhood, and it would seem from his baptismal name, Winfield Scott, that the idea of a military career was in the minds of his parents when he was yet in the cradle. Carefully nurtured in his early life, his youthful education was received at Norristown. He was ever a studious boy, and with his large frame and manly bearing, easily won the respect and admiration of his comrades. He soon became a leader among his school-fellows, and very early developed a taste for public affairs. It is recorded of him that when he was but fifteen years of age he was called upon to read the Declaration of Independence at a public celebration of the national aniversary, a distinction that was offered to him, not simply because of his illustrious descent, but because he possessed not

only fine oratorical powers, but a winsome manner and magnetic presence. Thus, at sixteen years of age, already well taught in the elementary branches, he received an appointment to West Point on July 1, 1840. Gen. Winfield Scott was present at the academy and participated in the examination of his namesake, to whom he dryly remarked that "most of his namesakes turned out scamps."

The first member of his class in academic honors was William G. Peck, now professor of mathematics in Columbia College, N. Y., and among the other members were Generals Alfred Pleasanton, D. M. Frost, and Simon B. Buckner. Contemporary with him at West Point were, in the class of 1841, Generals Z. B. Tower, Horatio G. Wright, A. W. Whipple, T. J. Rodman, Albion P. Howe, Nathaniel Lyon, J. B. Plummer, John M. Brannan, Schuyler Hamilton, James Totten, John F. Reynolds, R. B. Garnett, Don Carlos Buell, Alfred Sully, and I. B. Richardson; in the class of 1842, Generals Henry L. Eustis, John Newton, W. S. Rosecrans, B. S. Alexander, C. W. Smith, Mansfield Lovell, E. G. Beckwith, John Pope, C. L. Kilburn, Seth Williams, Abner Doubleday, N. J. T. Dana, R. W. Kirkham, George Sykes, Lafayette McLaws, S. B.

Hayman, Earl Van Dorn, and James Longstreet; in the class of 1843, Generals W. B. Franklin, W. F. Raynolds, Isaac F. Quinby, J. J. Peck, J. J. Reynolds, J. A. Hardie, H. F. Clarke, C. C. Augur, Ulysses S. Grant, J. H. Potter, C. S. Hamilton, Frederic Steele, Rufus Ingalls, F. T. Dent, John C. McFerran, and H. M. Judah ; in the class of 1845, Generals W. F. Smith, T. J. Wood, C. P. Stone, Fitz John Porter, John P. Hatch, J. W. Davidson, D. B. Sacket, Barnard E. Bee, Gordon Granger, H. B. Clitz, D. A. Russell, and Thomas G. Pitcher; and in the class of 1846, Generals George B. McClellan, John G. Foster, J. L. Reno, D. N. Couch, " Stonewall " Jackson, Truman Seymour, M. D. L. Simpson, S. D. Sturgis, George Stoneman, James Oakes, D. H. Maury, I. N. Palmer, Alfred Gibbs, George H. Gordon, Frederic Myers, J. N. G. Whistler, C. M. Wilcox, S. B. Maxey, and George E. Pickett. From this long roll of his West Point contemporaries who attained the rank of General during the late war, it is obvious that General Hancock's career at this institution was, at a critical period, when he was brought into contact with a large proportion of the future leaders upon both sides of the civil war.

CHAPTER II.

MILITARY INSTRUCTION DESCRIBED. ITS INFLUENCE ON A MIND LIKE HANCOCK'S.

Since the nomination of Gen. Hancock by the Democratic National Convention sitting at Cincinnati, the main effort of the opposition press, and the Republican campaign orators, has been to impress public opinion with the idea that Gen. Hancock's military education and subsequent services in the field, however patriotic and indispensable, unfit him entirely for the chief executive office of the civil government. To combat such a proposition requires no specious nor wordy argument, and especially will this be true to those who have examined the relative systems of civil and military instruction in the United States. Those who have been educated at our far-famed colleges in every quarter of the Union, now fill nearly every important station under the National Government. Graduates of West Point, however, are seldom

found, save in the line of their profession, since Gen. Grant closed his second term of office.

It is for the purpose of meeting some of the sophisms and wild misstatements of the purely civilian journalist, when he discourses with savage indignation about the necessity of abolishing West Point and the Naval Academy, because they inculcate an alleged vicious system of instruction, that it is well to inquire, "Can a soldier be a statesman?"—which by no means implies that a statesman can be a soldier. The thick film of ignorance clouding the eye of the political rhapsodist who has undertaken, with a few flourishes of his pen, to demolish the administrative capacity of Gen. Hancock, justifies more than a passing notice of the training under which Gen. Hancock went from his boyhood, until he became the Senior Major-General of the U. S. Army.

Gen. Hancock was sixteen years of age, and belonged to a family of influence and wealth in his Congressional district, as must almost always be the case with any cadet sent to either of the national academies. Take him as the typical boy there, and a typical boy, in addition to these advantages, has the military or marine ardor strong

within him; or, as is often the case, he proves a household nuisance, or the town devil, or the most promising youth intellectually within the county precincts; so he is provided with an appointment to West Point.

The conditions of entrance are simple. He must be sound physically; he must know the ordinary rules of grammar; be able to write a descriptive letter; know the North Pole from the Equator, and be familiar with elementary arithmetic. These requirements satisfied, the system of education teaches him that he is a man and a gentleman. From the hour that his development takes the direction intended, a vital change is wrought in him. No boy thus launched on a severe course of study, and mental and physical discipline, can remain in that school if he be transparently stupid or inherently bad.

The process of weeding out is rigid and unrelenting. The body of classmates, therefore, as they advance year by year, are relieved of worthless associates, and the academy traditions unite them firmly and guide them by an honorable and resolute spirit. The worst crime in the eyes of one of these youths is to lie; the worst insult is to be

accused of lying. To say that one is no gentleman costs a pair of black eyes or a bleeding nose, and to use the foul epithet which has become almost a street cry of New York makes a bad case for the hospital.

Thus a strong and pugnacious military spirit is maturing as the cadet grows intellectually to manhood. During this period his social graces are being cultivated. The ladies about the post, perhaps with an eye to future matrimony, soften the natures of these young embryo officers, who come from every quarter of the Union, representing all types and shades of culture, and having a parentage in every walk in life. Washington and the leading cities of the Atlantic seaboard pour in a steady stream of their fairest belles, and supply this historic spot with heiresses infatuated with brass buttons.

Nor must it be supposed that the cadets are deprived of social intercourse with the officers who command, train, and instruct them. When relieved from the restraints of discipline, which preclude all familiarity, they mingle in easy geniality with men of mature and well-instructed minds. Unless a nature be thoroughly depraved, unless it be lost

to all example and devoid of delicate susceptibility and elevated tendencies, it will become iron-wrought in matters of honor to comrades and adhesion to duty under a complex course of teaching and association like this.

History teaches that the two national academies, that of the army and that of the navy, produce as fine gentlemen as can be bred under Democratic institutions. A breach of trust, a lapse from honor and decent behavior, are rare. Nor is the intellectual training less thorough, less permeating, and less exhaustive.

While it is true that, in the colleges of civil life, the higher branches of moral philosophy, the classics, and the varied specialties, the chairs are now held by eminent men in their several departments of learning, it is yet certain that in the sum of knowledge taught at West Point more is fixed on the mind of the pupil and remains there than can be possible by mere voluntary instruction.

The task is involuntary. It begins with the cadet's entrance to the institution, and concludes only with his graduation, and the knowledge there acquired he is compelled to use daily thereafter through life. It may be said that this is purely

military teaching, but an examination will show that such is not the case. One of the earliest offices of the cadet is to control men. That duty he learns, and it becomes a part of his nature while he is yet ungrown to manhood. The positions which he holds from year to year until he assumes rank in the army, while miniature perhaps in their scope, are purely executive in their bearing.

He is taught the lesson of detail, of punctuality, of obedience, of command, of respect for written authority, of fidelity to the oath which makes him an officer of the United States.

Thus each cadet, when he graduates from the Academy, goes out among civil surroundings, possessing a marked personality in himself. Thus the idea of duty, conscience, and individual honor is distinct, inflexible, and on the highest plane. Unless he be of an elastic nature, and gradually melt back into the body politic from which he came, no one in civil life can fail to detect this marked individualism. It is present in the manner, in the personal bearing, and in every word and action. He is a man re-made from the best material that can be gathered from the various sources of human discipline and instruction.

While it is true that a character thus completed in the National Academy may be easily changed and easily made destructible, few can become negative or mediocre men.

It is perhaps the individualism already described, and the independence of character which is self-conscious in a man thus bred, that has made the average West Point graduate obnoxious to a large and honest, and yet a very narrow sentiment of the people; and it is undeniable, especially in the Democratic party, that there has ever been a profound feeling against military candidates for the higher offices under the Government; and yet, with a man like Hancock, a product of this system of instruction—the boy who at fifteen publicly read the Declaration of Independence; who twenty years subsequently aroused the Pacific slope by eloquent appeals to come forward to the rescue of the Union; who in 1864 made a speech in Tammany Hall unmatched even by the rhetoric of such a renowned orator as Thomas Francis Meagher, speaking on the same occasion; and who, as a military Governor in the South, regulating the civil concerns of millions of people, produced finished papers, that remained the wonder and admiration

of the jurists of the Time after a lapse of thirteen years, and are quoted as among the best expressed axioms of civil liberty—no one can complain that a clear and closely chiseled system of military education, strengthened, enforced, and crystalized by brilliant service in the field, is not almost indispensable in Our Time to a thorough practice and acquisition of the highest order of statesmanship. Indeed, so true has this been in the Old World, with the leading minds who have shaped the present political condition of Europe, Bismarck and Thiers, that the one has always worn his uniform, the uniform of his youth, while the other devoted his pen and constructive genius to the spread of military systems upon which he spent the best years of his life. It was Thiers who built the fortifications around Paris, that enabled an army of mechanics to withstand, for five months, a siege carried on by the finest army ever gathered on European soil since the Cæsars ruled in Rome.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE AT WEST POINT. SERVICE IN THE MEXICAN WAR. MRS. HANCOCK.

Young Hancock, as a cadet at West Point, almost immediately after passing the preliminary examination, began to show that aptitude for military service which he doubtless inherited from his ancestors. He proved an excellent scholar, a bright, cheerful, jovial companion, wedding himself at once with an instinctive liking to the more literary and esthetic branches of the institution.

The first year at the Military Academy is probationary rather than otherwise. If a student surmount all the physical difficulties in the way of progress, if he master the rudimentary branches in this initial year, if he show a proper restraint and a wholesome obedience to the rules and regulations in force, if his roll of demerits come below the maximum, if he preserve an untarnished reputation for truth and sobriety, if he develop no

evil ways nor tendencies—if, in short, he prove that he has within him the making of an officer—the first year of his course has determined his future in the institution and in the Army.

Generally speaking, it is during this first year of the course that undesirable candidates for military life are weeded out and sent home whence they came. It is therefore a trying year for the young cadet, especially as, at least in theory, there is no favoritism shown on account of lineage, family influence, or political power. The aspirant for an appointment to West Point should remember this, for the highway to fame through the corridors of this institution is now paved with brilliant reputations which might have been wrecked in the first year of their academic course by a stray action, a false word, or a lack of attention to study.

Cadet Hancock proved of the proper material. His strongly-knit, tall, commanding, and handsome figure was developing into manhood. His attention was divided between his studies in the barracks and the evolutions in the field. With such companions as McClellan, Burnside, Franklin, "Baldy Smith," Longstreet, and "Stonewall" Jackson, and that close application, thorough at-

tention to details, and unremitting industry in the pursuit of knowledge, which, added to his fine descent from Revolutionary ancestry and military bearing, could not otherwise than make him a marked figure in this now historic group. From year to year, he passed through all the grades of military instruction, graduating the eighteenth in a class of twenty-five on the 30th of June, 1844, receiving the commission of brevet Second Lieutenant of the Sixth Infantry.

From the very day that he entered the Academy until he left it, and through the forty subsequent years of his life in the military service, he never sought for what has been the instinctive desire of a large class of military graduates—a career in the business world—but ardently attached to his profession, he joined his regiment in the Indian Territory, then a wild region beyond the Mississippi, almost totally unexplored; for in that day no pathfinder had passed onward to the Pacific and left his foot-prints across the continent. Early life on that distant frontier was calculated to toughen and harden even a constitution already inured to the severest physical trials; but it is not to be supposed that in the academic course of four year at

West Point the youth is not called upon to spend daily a very large portion of his time in drill—cavalry, artillery, and other exercises—which assists him to the fullest physical development. Continuing to serve in the Sixth Infantry for nearly three years on frontier duty at Forts Towson and Washita, he received his full commission of second lieutenant, June 18, 1846. Early in 1847 he was detailed upon recruiting service for the Mexican War, and accompanied the army which landed at Vera Cruz, March 9, 1847, under command of his namesake, Gen. Winfield Scott. This brilliant young officer was then engaged in skirmishes in the defense of the convoy at the National Bridge near Jalapa, August 12th, and at Plan del Rio, August 15th, but encountering his first serious fighting five days later at the twin battles of Contreras and Cherubusco, both of which occurred the same day, August 20th.

In those fierce engagements Hancock won his brevet as First Lieutenant for "gallant and meritorious conduct." Shortly afterward he was made Adjutant of his battalion, and in that capacity participated in the severe battle of Molino del Rey, September 8th, and the capture of the City of

Mexico, Sept. 14, 1847. This was the great military event of that war, and, like Grant and others who brought distinguished services as their claims for commissions in the volunteer army at the outbreak of the Rebellion, he proved himself a courageous officer under fire, skillful in handling men, quick to perceive a military advantage, and dauntless in the face of the enemy. Upon his return to the United States, early in 1848, Lieut. Hancock was assigned to duty in the Quartermaster's Department, in which he remained until the breaking out of the civil war. At various times he was stationed at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri; then at Fort Crawford, Iowa, 1848–49; at St. Louis, 1849–51, and again at Jefferson Barracks, 1851–55. Promotion was not rapid in those days. The army was small; the chronic fit of economy which in times of peace keeps the military establishment down to ebb tide, prevented anything like obtaining advanced rank at a youthful age. He did not obtain his full Lieutenancy until January 27, 1853, although breveted First Lieutenant on the field of Cherubusco. He was made a staff captain Nov. 7, 1855, being then assistant Adjutant-General of the Department of the West. He lived a quiet

life, taking an interest in public affairs, and it was only interrupted when he was stationed at Fort Myers, in Florida, 1856–57, when he was called to act against the Seminole Indians. He also had occasion to come in contact with political excitement in the always turbulent canvass at Fort Leavenworth, where he was engaged in suppressing the disturbances which grew out of border ruffianism, from 1857 to 1858. He then accompanied the expedition to Utah, in 1858, marching thence to California late in that year, there becoming chief quartermaster of the Southern District of California, from May 5, 1859, to Aug. 3, 1861.

While on duty at his post in St. Louis, his marriage to Miss Almira Russell, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of a prominent merchant of St. Louis, took place in 1850. Mrs. Hancock was then, as she is now, a woman of rare personal attractions, of medium height, regular and aristocratic features, blonde hair, limpid blue eyes, and well-rounded figure. Gifted with an easy, happy, and fascinating manner, she has long been an acknowledged favorite in all the circles in which she has moved. No lady since the days of the famous Dolly Madison exemplifies so well the type of the early

queens of American society. Familiar, as she long has been, with public men, in public life, and thrown in contact with all the chief statesmen, soldiers, and diplomatists from the Old World, who are found in the society of the metropolis and the capital at Washington, she yet preserves a modest, winsome, and easy manner that was so characteristic of Miss Harriet Lane during the administration of President Buchanan. It may be said that Mrs. Hancock in a large degree, and at first view to the visitor, reminds one instinctively of Martha Washington. Added to her other attractions is her fine capacity for entertainment, and no more charming and accomplished hostess is to be found in the two hemispheres. At their house at Governor's Island, a simple but generous hospitality has long been known and enjoyed by that circle of appreciative friends and guests, who have since the close of the war been foremost in urging Gen. Hancock as the proper nominee for the Presidency. They have had two children—Miss Ada Elizabeth, deceased five years, having died at the Stevens building in New York, in 1875, after a brief illness of malaria. The loss of this lovely daughter has proved a severe blow to the family, and especially to Mrs.

Hancock, by whom she was more than idolized. Her portrait hangs in the large drawing-room of the General's residence at Governor's Island, and was executed by Mr. B. F. Reinhart, the celebrated artist. It reveals a lovely girl of nineteen years of age, fine, soft, intellectual face, large, azure eyes, sensitive mouth, with an expression of touching sadness. The son, Mr. Russell Hancock, is a gentleman of fine physique, and has followed the occupation of a planter, now cultivating his broad acres in Mississippi. As these pages are going through the press, he, in common with his family and parents, are called upon to mourn the loss of his infant son, and inheritor of the name of Winfield Scott Hancock—deceased at the age of five months.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CIVIL WAR. WILLIAMSBURG.

The outbreak of the Rebellion found Captain Hancock in this somewhat obscure position of quartermaster at Los Angeles, Cal., and while his contemporary officers in the Eastern States had an early taste of military risks and rewards, it was not until August that he was ordered to report in person to the Quartermaster-General at Washington. He was at once assigned to duty as Chief Quartermaster of the Army of Kentucky. It was not, however, in such a capacity that laurels were to be won, and Captain Hancock doubtless resorted to the usual methods of furthering his desire for an opportunity of active service in the field.

Captain Winfield S. Hancock was commissioned by President Lincoln a brigadier-general of volunteers, September 23, 1861, and given command of the first brigade of Gen. "Baldy" Smith's division of the Army of the Potomac.

The material of his first general command was of the very best. It consisted of four splendid regiments—one from New York, one from Pennsylvania, one from the backwoods of Maine, and one from Wisconsin. These regiments were well-officered and well-drilled. Under the tuition of Hancock they soon acquired the *esprit du corps* and steadiness of the best troops, and long before they had been seriously engaged it was plainly to be seen that they could be depended upon in almost any emergency. It was the kind of material with which to assist a noble cause, or to found a splendid fame. Hancock probably thought little of what these regiments were to do for him. His sole aim was to make them effective in the service of his country. In doing this he was fashioning an instrument which should make his own name immortal. In the latter part of March, 1862, the Army of the Potomac was moved to Fortress Monroe, and the campaign on the Peninsula, which should commence at Yorktown and end with the terrible seven days' conflict before Richmond, was inaugurated. Smith's division, as soon as it landed at Hampton, was sent to the left, and led the advance on the Yorktown lines on the James River

road. It struck the enemy a short distance beyond Warwick Court-House. Here, on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of April, there was heavy skirmishing with infantry and artillery. The enemy occupied a strongly intrenched line protected by a stream, and no impression was made upon it. The army was feeling its way into position in the woods and swamps. Hancock's brigade on this occasion was conspicuous, it having been dispatched to the right, making a reconnoissance in force, and developing the enemy's lines in a direction where the Union line was not as yet complete. During the night of the 7th Smith's division moved still further to the right, striking the enemy at Lee's Mills. This point was believed to be vulnerable to an assault, and, under the direction of Gen. McClellan, on the 16th, the attempt was made, the line across the Peninsula having then been made continuous. This was after a heavy artillery fire at short range, but the obstacles were too great and the enemy's position too strong to be forced. In this engagement, although the Vermont troops had the place of honor and of the greatest loss, Gen. Hancock and his command were conspicuous. From this time until the evacuation of the York-

town lines on the night of the 3d of May, Gen. Hancock's brigade, in common with the rest of the division, was constantly on duty in the trenches or skirmishing with the enemy's pickets. On the morning of the 4th of May, after a heavy cannonade during most of the night, the works of the Confederates were discovered to be abandoned. The discovery was made almost simultaneously along the entire Union line from the York to the James, and with the first light there began a race on every road leading toward Richmond, and great was the strife to see who should first come up with the retreating foe. At Williamsburg, the Confederates had constructed another fortified line reaching from the York River nearly to the James, and running parallel to that which they had just abandoned. It consisted of a series of redoubts, mostly built along and behind the stream which, running through a deep ravine for some distance, empties into the York. The center defense was a powerful fort near Williamsburg, mounting heavy guns. Here the enemy made his stand, and by these works the Union Army, in such order as was possible from the nature of the pursuit, found itself on the evening of the 4th of May effectually

stopped. There was rain, mud, infinite discomfort, apparent confusion, unquestionably no head to the movements of the troops, and, as darkness settled down over the bivouacking army, there was anything but a bright prospect for success. With the dawn of the 5th, however, matters began to assume shape, and the divisions assumed their positions. Hooker made his famous bloody and ineffectual struggle in the fallen timbers before Fort Magruder. It was a gallant effort persistently made, and while reflecting honor on the division, resulted in nothing but heavy loss. Early in the forenoon Gen. Hancock obtained permission to reconnoiter the enemy's left. With two light batteries and two additional regiments, he moved for a mile or more to the right of our line, carefully feeling the enemy's strength. Presently he came upon an opening in the woods, and before him was a deep ravine, a dam across it, and on the opposite bluff a rebel fortification, the continuation of the rebel left. A glance showed the commander that the fort was not strongly manned, and by a rapid movement might be forced. This was quickly done. The troops poured across the dam, climbed the bluff, and drove the enemy out of the redoubt.

A road was hastly improvised up the bluff, the artillery was dragged across the dam, and Hancock formed his brigade in line of battle within the enemy's line of fortifications, and moved at once on a line parallel to the one by which he had advanced, straight back toward the rebel center at Fort Magruder. It was a masterly movement. By one quick stroke he had completely turned the enemy's left, and unless stopped and driven back, he would render the whole rebel line untenable. The enemy fell back slowly before his advance, until a position some twelve hundred yards from Fort Magruder was reached. From this point, a gentle slope descended some distance toward the rebel center. It was a fine position for artillery work, and Hancock sent his two batteries a short distance to the front with adequate support, and a heavy artillery duel ensued. The position, however, was a perilous one. His little command was a long distance from any supports; an almost impassable ravine was between it and the rest of the division and the army, and before it was an overwhelming force; in fact, the whole rebel army. Re-enforcements were sent for, but none came. The day wore on and the position became critical;

without re-enforcements it seemed madness to attempt to hold the advantage gained. With adequate support the rebel army was at our mercy. Between these conflicting views the General held on until nearly 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Then Gen. Hancock determined to withdraw, and issued the order to retire the batteries back to the slope where the brigade line stood.

But the lynx-eyed rebel commander, having repulsed Hooker in front, and realizing perfectly the danger which threatened him with his left flank turned, made his dispositions with a view of utterly overwhelming Hancock. The order to retire the artillery had not been executed when, with a tremendous cheer, the enemy debouched from the woods on Hancock's right front, and, in two splendid lines of battle, two brigades of Early's troops moved on Hancock's line. There was no such thing as retreat then. Retreat meant rout—utter overthrow—capture. Whatever might be the effect of standing his ground, retreat was the worst of all possible expedients. Hancock stood his ground. Not altogether. The enemy, regardless of shell and hardly stopping for canister, swept around and almost enveloped the artillery,

which barely escaped from a loop in the rebel advance, and went into the battery again on the slope. The brigade, in perfect order, firing steadily, slowly retired before the rebel advance. The latter came on impetuously, firing and shouting "Bull Run! Bull Run! That flag is ours." As they came slowly up the slope, flushed with certain victory, Hancock seized the opportune moment. He had been sitting close behind the center of the line, watching with imperturbable coolness the phases of the struggle. It was a supreme hour. Would his brigade respond in the presence of such overwhelming advancing numbers? The fight was, it must be remembered, in the open field. It was now at murderously short range. The thoughts of this brave commander in that crisis nobody knew. What he did, all the world knows. The Little Corporal is said to have watched a similar struggle, and at the crisis to have thrown himself headlong across the Bridge of Lodi. What Hancock did was a piece of the same personal daring. Dashing forward on his horse, with head bared, swinging his hat, and shouting, "Forward! Forward! For God's sake forward!" he showed himself among his men in the line

of battle. Forty yards away was the great irregularly-shaped, firing, shouting rebel force. It seemed madness to attempt to stop them. But not a second intervened when the brigade saw and recognized Hancock's blazing form before them, and, with a shout that drowned the crackling musketry, with lowered bayonets, and with a line as perfect as though the men were on parade, the brigade advanced. A minute more, and the conflicting forces would be hand to hand. But this did not occur.

The rebel line faltered, then stopped, then turned, as though actuated by one unpleasant, common impulse, and back they went, slowly, obstinately, fighting still, but still back the way they came, leaving the ground thickly covered with their dead and wounded, to say nothing of some hundreds who were found retreating under fire not so agreeable as advancing under the same conditions, and who held up white handkerchiefs and surrendered. Shortly after the struggle was over, the wished-for re-enforcements came in plenty. But now it was night. The great opportunity of following up the blow was lost. During the night the enemy retreated, the success of Hancock

having made the Williamsburg lines untenable, although constructed to sustain a siege. This was Hancock's first glory, and it was a shining glory too. From an unknown subordinate, in a few hours his name was heard from Maine to California. It was a lucky day, but the luck was deserved, because, while yet acting with reasonable caution, Hancock dared to go forward, and do what the true soldier always has to do—take some chances. It is casting no reflection on others to say that four out of five of the general officers of the Army of the Potomac at that time would not have crossed that ravine with Hancock's force in the face of the rebel army as he did. McClellan's report of Hancock's achievement on the field of Williamsburg was a notable saying for the head of the army to use. In his telegraphed report to the President, he said, "Hancock was superb"—an expression which all who saw him on that day, towering above his men in the crisis of the struggle, plucking victory from the jaws of defeat by the inspiration of heroic example, will own was truthfully applicable and not in the least poetical.

General McClellan, in a dispatch to Mr. Stanton,

Secretary of War, dated "In bivouac, in front of Williamsburg, May 10, 1862," writes: "After arranging for movements by General York, I find General Joe Johnson in front of me in strong force, probably a much greater than my own. General Hancock has taken redoubts, and repulsed Early's rebel brigade by a charge with the bayonet, taking one colonel and 150 privates. Killed at least two colonels and many privates. His conduct was brilliant in the extreme." An eye-witness of this brilliant feat of arms says that "at five o'clock General Hancock's brigade, assisted by Kennedy's and Wheeler's battalions, was ordered to the right to feel the enemy, if possible, upon its left wing. They were met by General Early's brigade, consisting of the 5th Carolina and 24th and 38th Virginia regiments, with a squadron of cavalry, who advanced in line of battle. The three bodies of troops were quickly prepared to receive them, and opened a heavy fire; but the enemy advanced steadily to within 200 yards, when General Hancock ordered a charge of the bayonet, which was executed with the greatest rapidity and courage. The conduct of General Hancock with his brigade I think one of the most

brilliant battles of the war. It excited universal admiration from the field. A shout went up from tens of thousands of Union throats, which made the country resound for miles around."

CHAPTER V.

RICHMOND, ANTIETAM, FREDERICKSBURG, CHANCELLORSVILLE.

During the rest of the Peninsular Campaign, General Hancock often engaged the enemy, and always with credit and distinction. While lying on the lines before Richmond, on the afternoon and evening of June 27th, his brigade sustained and repulsed at Golding's Farm an attack of the enemy in force. The closing part of this fight showed on General Hancock's part the tactics which he practiced first at Williamsburg, and for which he became famous—that of holding his position tenaciously until the critical moment in the attack of the enemy arrived, and then demoralizing him by an impetuous advance. Such counter-strokes the best troops will hardly stand. But to be able to make them successfully, the commander must possess the perfect confidence of his own men. No general can advance with disheartened and half-de-

feated troops. To possess their confidence, the general must share their peril and be seen by them. This was one of Hancock's secrets. When a brigade commander, he was always among his men, riding up and down close behind his line of battle, encouraging them by voice and example—not only sharing their danger, but exposing himself more than they, and taking more than his share of peril. As he rose in rank and commanded larger bodies of men, he did not abandon this practice, and, like other officers high in command, remain safely in the rear, executing his movements by his aids alone. He was always at the critical point at the critical moment, and his soldiers always knew that they were fighting under the eye of a commander who never knew fear himself, and would tolerate it in nobody else. The fight at Golding's Farm was peculiar from the fact that it extended into the night, and the scene of the contending forces, as they blazed away at each other at close quarters all along the line and in the dark, was one of the finest spectacles of the war.

On the 28th of June, at Garnett's Hill, General Hancock was again heavily engaged, as he was at Savage Station on the 29th, and at White Oak

Swamp on the 30th. In this latter engagement his brigade sustained without flinching, until ordered to fall back, the fire of sixty pieces of rebel artillery from a position on the other side of a ravine. The rebel position could not be attacked, and no reply, except by two or three of the Union batteries, could be made to this tremendous bombardment. General Hancock's brigade held their position throughout the day, repelling the infantry attacks of the enemy successfully until the immense wagon trains of our retreating army were out of the way. It was an occasion that tried the steadiness of his men more than anything else could have done. For three days his men, in common with the rest of the retreating army, had been fighting by day and marching by night. They were worn out with fatigue and want of sleep. Under such circumstances the best troops are liable to give way before a heavy and concentrated fire of artillery, and that they endured this without flinching told volumes of their bravery and discipline.

For his conspicuous services in these and other engagements during the Peninsular Campaign, and the seven days' fight which closed at Malvern

Hill, General Hancock was recommended by the General-in-Chief for promotion to the rank of Major-General of Volunteers, and for the brevets of Major, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Colonel in the United States Army. His promotion was for the highest possible cause, "Gallant and meritorious conduct in the Peninsular Campaign."

The campaign against Richmond having failed, and the Army of the Potomac having been transferred from Harrison's Landing northward, General Hancock took part in the campaign in August and September, having been moved to Centerville to the support of Pope. He commanded his brigade at South Mountain, when McClellan was restored to the command of the Army of the Potomac. On the 17th of September he shared conspicuously in the dangers and glory of the victory of Antietam. It will be remembered that in this engagement the gallant Richardson, commander of the First Division, Second Army Corps, was mortally wounded. General Hancock was on the field placed in command of the division, from which time dated his connection with this corps, which he afterward commanded with such success and

renown. After the retreat of Lee across the Potomac, General Hancock led the advance from Harper's Ferry to Charleston, striking the enemy's line, and driving him with sharp fighting. In November, he received his commission of Major-General of United States Volunteers. He moved with his division to Fredericksburg, and on the 13th of December took part in the desperate and bloody assault on Mayre's Heights. His behavior on this occasion was in keeping with the high reputation he had achieved. He was, with his division, in the thickest of the conflict, leading his men as far as it was possible, under the circumstances, for men to go, and only falling back when attempt at further advance was fool-hardy and useless. In this fight, as, in fact, in almost every one in which he was engaged, he seemed to wear a charm on his life. He received in the "slaughter pen," as the rank and file were wont to call the position they occupied in this fight, a slight flesh wound, coming out otherwise unharmed, though with uniform perforated with the enemy's bullets. When General Hooker made his attempt on Lee's lines at Chancellorsville, in May, 1863, to General Hancock's division important duties were assigned.

is division was unmoved amid the ruin that followed the rout of the Eleventh Corps, was among the last to leave the field, and retired in splendid order, forming the rear guard of the defeated army. The division repelled every attack of the enemy, and often were opposed to many times their number. As usual, Hancock was right among his men, holding them to their work by his presence. Fortune was again kind to him. He received no wound, having only his horse shot under him. A month after this battle, Hancock was put in command of the Second Corps, in which for nine months he had been a division commander. His elevation to this command gave unusual satisfaction to the men and officers whose chief he was to be, and was recognized by the army and the country as a hardly and fairly earned tribute to the highest soldierly qualities. His assignment to the command was at first temporary, occurring on the retirement of General Couch on the 10th of June. But soon was to occur the culminating event of the war. Lee was to start on his invasion of the North, and the race between the opposing armies for Washington, or perhaps Philadelphia, was about to begin. It was during this

memorable movement, namely, on the 25th of June, that President Lincoln himself permanently confirmed General Hancock in the command of his corps.

CHAPTER VI.

GETTYSBURG—BY MAJOR-GENERAL ST. CLAIR A. MULHOLLAND.

In all the four years of its existence, the men of the Army of the Potomac never hailed an order with more delight than that one which withdrew us from before Fredericksburg and sent us North. When on that lovely summer evening in June, 1863, we looked for the last time on Larve's and the monument of Washington's mother, which had been shattered and broken by the shells of both armies, and stood out there on the plain, back of the city, as though protesting against this fratricidal strife, a mute and sorrowful Niobe weeping for the misfortunes of her children, every heart beat with a quickened throb, and all the men rejoiced to leave the scenes of the last six months. We withdrew from the line of the river after the shades of night had fallen over the landscape; and it seemed an appropriate hour, for had not

the great army while here been in shadow, without a ray of sunshine to gladden our souls? and we had been here so long we were beginning to be forgotten as the Army of the Potomac, and letters came to us marked "Army of the Rappahannock." As we marched away in the darkness our joy was not unmingled with sorrow, for was there a veteran in the ranks who did not leave behind the graves of noble and well-beloved comrades who had fought beside him from the beginning of the great struggle? We did not march away with all the army. When our camp-fires—which on this night burned with unusual brightness—went out, and left the Valley of the Rappahannock in darkness, the living army was gone, to be sure, but twenty-five thousand of our members lay over on the other side of the river—the heroes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. An army of occupation, indeed, the corps of honor, forming a great and permanent camp—the bivouac of the dead.

Thoughts of sadness soon gave way to those of a more buoyant nature; we felt, when the head of the column turned toward the capital, the road we trod would lead to victory. The march to Gettysburg was one of the longest and most severe we

had yet experienced. In thinking of war we are apt to look only at the battles; to hear the dread sound of strife; to see the deadly, gaping wounds, and are ready to crown the survivors or give honor to those who fell; but the hardships of the march, the heats of summer, the colds of winter, the entire absence of every comfort and luxury in active service is overlooked or forgotten by those who do not participate. Napoleon, when retreating from Moscow, lost many of his men by the excessive cold; directly opposite was our experience on the way to Gettysburg. On one day, I think the second out from Falmouth, our corps lost more than a dozen men from sunstroke—they fell dead by the way-side. On another day we crossed the little battle-field of Bull Run, where the year before Pope had met with disastrous defeat. No effort had been made to bury the dead properly; a little earth, which the rain had long ago washed away, had been thrown over them where they fell, and their bodies, or rather their skeletons now lay exposed to view. In some parts of the field they were in groups, in other places singly, and in all possible positions. One cavalryman lay outstretched with skeleton hand still grasping his

trusted sword. Another, half covered with earth, the flesh still clinging to his lifeless bones, and hand extended as if to greet us. We rested for a short time on the field, and one of the regiments of our brigade (the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts) halted on the very spot on which they had fought the year previously, and recognized the various articles lying around as belonging to their own dead.

The route of the Second Corps to Gettysburg was over two hundred miles in length. Some days we marched fifteen, on others eighteen miles, and on one day (June 29th) this corps completed the longest march made by any infantry during the war—leaving Frederick City, Md., in the morning, and halting at 11 o'clock, P. M., two miles beyond Uniontown, a distance of thirty-four miles. When I look back over the almost score of years to this march of the Second Corps, and think of the perfect discipline in the ranks, the cheerfulness with which the enlisted men, with their load of fifty-seven pounds weight—musket and ammunition, knapsack and cartridge-box, shelter-tent and blanket, canteen and rations—trudged along under the broiling sun of the hottest month in our year;

how bravely they struggled to keep up with their regiments lest they should miss the fight, and how, while on the march, no act was committed which could bring dishonor upon them as men, as citizens or soldiers, my heart fills with admiration, and I offer a flowing measure of praise to my comrades who are yet alive, and to those who are no more. There is not an inhabitant on all that line of march who can tell of a single act of vandalism by any of the men, such as we are wont to hear of other armies. In the rich and cultivated country through which we passed, life and property were respected as though we were in the halcyon days of peace. Old and young came to the roadside to see the army pass, and knew they were safe from insult or molestation. The fields of ripening grain waved untrampled when the corps had gone by, the men even going out of their way to avoid the gardens, lest they should step on the flowers. The perfection of discipline in the army at this period was extraordinary. The armies that fought the war of 1861 differed very widely from the armies of other nations. We had no hordes of Cossacks, no regiments of Bashi-Bazouks to burn and destroy, to insult the

aged or crush the defenseless. When Hancock, at Williamsburg, said to his brigade, "Gentlemen, charge!" he did not call his troops out of their name. Our army was literally an army of gentlemen.

And so we passed through Thoroughfare Gap, to Edwards' Ferry, to Frederick, Md., to Uniontown and Taneytown, where, on the morning of July 1st, the Second Corps was massed, and where General Meade's head-quarters had been established. While the corps were filing into the fields to the right and left of the road, and settling down for a rest and to wait for orders, General Hancock rode over to General Meade and entered into conversation with him. As they were talking, a mounted officer dashed up, bringing the intelligence that fighting had begun at Gettysburg —thirteen miles distant. The news was meagre—only that there was fighting. That was all; yet it caused a general surprise, unaware as we were of the near proximity of the enemy, and it was enough to send a thrill throughout the veteran ranks. The road that leads to Gettysburg is scanned with anxious eyes, and soon, away in the distance, rises a cloud of dust, which comes

nearer and nearer, and another messenger from the front is with us. He tells us that Reynolds is killed or mortally wounded; that the First and Eleventh corps are fighting, and the battle is against us. It is now 1 o'clock, too late for the Second Corps to reach the field that day to take part in stemming the tide of rebel victory; but not so with their commander. Meade orders Hancock to proceed to the front and take command of all the troops there assembled. This was ten minutes past 1 o'clock, and within twenty minutes Hancock, with his staff, was on the road to Gettysburg. He was, like Desaix at Marengo, to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. (A strange coincidence. Nearly a century before, the grandfather of General Hancock, then a soldier of Washington, started from the same little village of Taneytown to escort some of the prisoners of Burgoyne to Valley Forge.) The Second Corps promptly followed General Hancock, and it required no urging to keep the men up. The regiments moved forward solidly and rapidly, and not a straggler was to be seen. I never saw men cover thirteen miles so quickly; but as they hurried along a halt was ordered, the ranks opened,

and an ambulance passed containing the dead body of the heroic General John F. Reynolds. Then the corps pushed on to within a few miles of the battle ground, where it camped that night, and arrived on the field early the next morning.

CHAPTER VII.

HANCOCK TO THE FRONT.

As General Hancock proceeded to the front, he rode part of the way in an ambulance, so that he might examine the maps of the country; his aid, Major Mitchell, galloped ahead to announce his coming to General Howard, whom he found on Cemetery Hill, and to whom he told his errand, giving him to understand that General Hancock was coming up to take command. At half past two o'clock General Hancock rode up to General Howard, informed him that he had come to take command, and asked him if he wished to see his written orders. Howard answered, "No! no! Hancock, go ahead!" At this moment our defeat seemed to be complete. Our troops were flowing through the streets of the town in great disorder, closely pursued by the Confederates, the retreat fast becoming a rout, and in a very few minutes the enemy would be in possession of Cemetery Hill, the key to the

position; and the battle of Gettysburg would have gone into history as a rebel victory. But what a change came over the scene in the next half hour. The presence of Hancock, like that of Sheridan, was magnetic. Order came out of chaos. The flying troops halt, and again face the enemy. The battalions of Howard's corps, that were retreating down the Baltimore pike, are called back, and with a cheer go into position on the crest of Cemetery Hill, where the division of Steinwehr had already been stationed. Wadsworth's division and a battery are sent to hold Culp's Hill, and Geary, with the White Star division, goes on the double-quick to occupy the high ground toward Round Top. Confidence is restored, the enemy checked, and, being deceived by these dispositions, cease their attack.

General Hancock was fully aware that General Meade had determined to fight the battle on the line of Pipe Creek; but noting the topographical advantages of the ground around Gettysburg, he determined to advise General Meade to fight there. He knew that this line, the crest of Cemetery Ridge, with Culp's Hill on the right, Round Top on the left, and Cemetery Hill in the center, could

not be bettered. So, when order had taken the place of confusion and our lines once more intact, he sent his senior aid, Major Mitchell, back to tell General Meade that, in his judgment, Gettysburg was the place to fight our battle. Major Mitchell found General Meade in the evening, near Taneytown, and communicated these views. General Meade listened attentively, and on these representations he fortunately concluded to abandon his idea of fighting on the line of Pipe Creek and deliver the battle at Gettysburg, and turning to General Seth Williams, his adjutant-general, he said, "Order up all the troops; we will fight there." The morning of July 2d, and the second day of the battle, dawned clear and bright, and found Hancock posting the Second Corps on Cemetery Ridge. As yet no one in that corps, with the exception of the General and his staff, had heard a shot fired. As we approached Gettysburg the day before, the sounds of the fight, owing to the direction of the wind or the formation of the country, were wholly inaudible. Those who came upon the field after nightfall had no idea of the whereabouts of the enemy; but as the daylight increased and objects became visible, we

saw their lines nearly a mile distant on Seminary Ridge, and away to our left rose Little Round Top. As the day wore on, and not a shot or a hostile sound broke the stillness of the morning, it became evident that the enemy were not yet ready to renew the fight. Our corps had got into position, and in a wood just back of our line the birds caroled and sang loud and long. Our horses quietly browsed in the rich grass, and the men lay in groups peacefully enjoying a rest after the rapid march of the day before. The troops that arrived upon the field or changed their position did so leisurely and unmolested. Sickles came up and went into position on our left, and Geary took his division over to Culp's Hill. About ten o'clock picket-firing was heard out toward Little Round Top, continuing at intervals until long after noon, at times becoming quite sharp. But three o'clock came, and still no indications of the general engagement.

The troops had partly recovered from their fatigue, and were actually beginning to enjoy life; some of them indulged in a quiet game of euchre, while others toasted their hard-tack, or fried a little bacon at the small fires in the rear of the lines.

Shortly after three o'clock, a movement was apparent on our left. From where we (Caldwell's division) lay, the whole country in our front, and far to our left, away to the peach orchard and to Little Round Top, was in full view. Our division stood in brigade column, and when it became evident that something was going to take place, the boys dropped their cards, regardless of what was trump—even the men who held both bowers and the ace—and all gathered on the most favorable position, to witness the opening of the ball. Soon the long lines of the Third Corps are seen advancing, and how splendidly they march! It looks like a dress parade—a review. On, on, they go, out toward the peach orchard, but not a shot is fired. A little while longer, and some one calls out, "There!" and points to where a cloud of smoke is seen arising against the dark green of the woods. Another and another cloud, until the whole face of the forest is enveloped, and the dread sound of the artillery comes loud and quick; shells are seen bursting in all directions along the lines. The bright colors of the regiments are conspicuous marks, and the shells burst around them in great numbers. The musketry begins, the infantry be-

comes engaged, and the battle extends along the whole front of Sickle's corps. Now the sounds come from Little Round Top, and the smoke rises among the trees, and all the high and wooded ground to the left of the peach orchard seems to be the scene of strife. An hour passes, and our troops give way, and are falling back; but slowly, very slowly, every inch of ground is fought for. The Third Corps is not in the habit of giving it up, and they hold their own well; but the odds are against them, and they are forced to retire.

Now help is called for, and Hancock tells Caldwell to have his division ready. "Fall in!" and the men run to their places. "Take arms!" and the four brigades of Zook, Cross, Brook, and Kelly are ready for the fray. There is yet a few minutes to spare before starting, and the time is occupied in one of the most impressive religious ceremonies I have ever witnessed. The Irish Brigade, which had been commanded formerly by Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, and whose green flag had been unfurled in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac had been engaged, from the first Bull Run to Appomattox, and was now commanded by Colonel Patrick Kelly, of the Eighty-eighth New

York, formed a part of this division. The brigade stood in columns of regiments, closed in mass. As the large majority of its members were Catholics, the chaplain of the brigade, Rev. William Corly, proposed to give a general absolution to all the men before going into the fight. While this is customary in the armies of Catholic countries of Europe, it was, perhaps, the first time it was ever witnessed on this continent, unless, indeed, the grim old warrior Ponce de Leon, as he tramped through the everglades of Florida, in search of the Fountain of Youth, or De Soto, on his march to the Mississippi, indulged in this act of devotion. Father Corly stood upon a large rock in front of the brigade, addressing the men; he explained what he was about to do, saying that each one could receive the benefit of the absolution by making a sincere act of contrition, and firmly resolving to embrace the first opportunity of confessing their sins; urging them to do their duty well, and reminding them of the high and sacred nature of their trust as soldiers, and the noble object for which they fought; ending by saying that the Catholic Church refuses Christian burial to the soldier who turns his back upon the foe or deserts his flag. The

brigade was standing at "Order arms." As he closed his address, every man fell on his knees, with head bowed down. Then, stretching his right hand toward the brigade, Father Corly pronounced the words of the absolution: "Dominus noster Jesus Christus vos absolvat, et ego, auctoritate ipsius, vos absolvo ab omni vinculo excommunicationis et indigetis, deinde ego absolvo vos a peccatis vestris, in nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen." The scene was more than impressive, it was awe-inspiring. Near by stood Hancock, surrounded by a brilliant throng of officers, who had gathered to witness this very unusual occurrence, and, while there was profound silence in the ranks of the Second Corps, yet over to the left, out by the peach orchard and Little Round Top, where Weed and Vincent and Haslett were dying, the roar of the battle rose and swelled and re-echoed through the woods, making music more sublime than ever sounded through cathedral aisle. The act seemed to be in harmony with all the surroundings. I do not think there was a man in the brigade who did not offer up a heartfelt prayer. For some it was their last; they knelt there in their grave-clothes—in less than half an hour many of

them were numbered with the dead of July 2d. Who can doubt that their prayers were good? What was wanting in the eloquence of the priest to move them to repentance, was supplied in the incidents of the fight. That heart would be incorrigible, indeed, that the scream of a Whitworth bolt, added to Father Corly's touching appeal would not move to contrition.

The maps published by the Government make the line of Caldwell's division moving to the left at four o'clock. I think this is a mistake. I believe it was nearly five o'clock before we started. The division moved off by the left flank and marched rapidly. We had hardly got under way when the enemy's batteries opened, and shells began falling all around us. The ground on which this division faced the enemy the afternoon of the second had already been fought over again and again, and the fields and woods were strewed with killed and wounded. Anderson and McLaws had driven our troops from the peach orchard, and the line on which Sickles had placed the Third Corps had been in a great part abandoned. As we arrived on the rising ground to the left of the peach orchard, the brigade of De Trobriand had been pushed

back out of the woods and across the wheat-field, after a most gallant fight. As our division advanced, many of the shattered regiments of the Third Corps passed to the rear through the intervals in our line. They retired in good order, with colors flying. To the left of the wheat-field Cross deployed his brigade; Kelly passed to the right and Brook to the left. The brigades were still in column of regiments when they appeared in front of the enemy, and the columns deployed on the double-quick and, forming line, advanced to find the Confederates. We had not far to look. As we approached the crest of the rugged hill, from behind the huge bowlders that were everywhere scattered around, the men of Longstreet's corps rose up and poured into our ranks a most destructive fire. The sudden meeting astonished us, the lines being not more than thirty feet apart when the firing opened. I cannot imagine why the rebs allowed us to get so near before firing, unless they thought we would give way under the weight and impulse of the attack. If this was their idea they were badly mistaken. Our men promptly returned the fire, and for ten or fifteen minutes the work of death went on. There was no cheering, no time

lost in unnecessary movements. Every man there, both Union and rebel, were veterans, and knew just what was wanted. They stood there face to face, loading and firing, and so close that every shot told. In a short time the brigades of Cross and Brook began forcing the enemy back, and after firing for about ten minutes Colonel Kelly gave the order to charge. The men, rushing forward with a cheer, were among the enemy in a few moments.

Here took place a rather extraordinary scene. In an instant our men and their opponents were mingled together. In charging we had literally run right in among them. Firing instantly ceased, and we found there were as many of the enemy as there were of ourselves. Officers and men looked for a time utterly bewildered; all the fighting had stopped, yet the Graybacks still retained their arms and showed no disposition to surrender. At this moment a Union officer called out in a loud voice: "The Confederate troops will lay down their arms and go to the rear!" This ended a scene that was becoming embarrassing. The Confederates promptly obeyed, and a large number of what I think were some of Kershaw's brigade

became our prisoners. In front of Kelly's brigade we found that the enemy had suffered much more than we had. When engaged, our line was below theirs, as they stood on the crest of the hill. They fired down while our men fired upward, and ours was more effective. On their line we found many dead, but few wounded—they were nearly all hit in the head or the upper part of the body. Behind one rock I counted five dead bodies. This was some of the most severe fighting our division had ever done, and so close that the officers used their revolvers. During the fight my regiment held the extreme right of the division, and from where we stood I could see the peach orchard, and none of our troops were between that point and us—a distance of more than a quarter of a mile. As we were engaged, a column of troops passed through this interval, go into our rear, and formed a line of battle facing the wheat-field. The hour that this column moved in here is put down on the Government maps as seven o'clock. I think this incorrect; it could not have been so late. And now we find that while our division had been, in a manner, victorious in checking the impetuous attack at this point, and had taken

many prisoners, we are ourselves in very serious trouble—a line of battle in our rear and another in our front, both moving to attack us at once. As we get ready to repel the attack in front, Wofford's Georgia troops strike us in the rear. The brigades of Cross and Brook are more fortunate just now than those of Zook and Kelly. The Confederate lines in our rear did not extend far enough to cover the two first, but Kelly and Zook were completely surrounded, and the only way out of the trap was to pass down between the two rebel lines; so the two brigades started on a double-quick—firing as they ran—toward Little Round Top, the only opening through which we could escape.

Passing through this alley of death, where the bullets came thick as hail, we got away with a large part of the division, but the loss was terrible. In the half hour that we were under fire, fourteen hundred men were lost. Of the four brigade commanders, two were killed—General S. H. Zook and Colonel E. E. Cross. Cross fell almost at the first fire, and Zook a few minutes afterward. On the morning of that day, General Hancock said to Colonel Cross: "This is the last

time you will fight as a colonel; to-day will make you a brigadier-general." Cross answered firmly and sadly, as though he felt sure of what he said: "No; it is too late, General, I will never wear the star. To-day I shall be killed." Just after Zook fell, Colonel Richard P. Roberts, who succeeded to the command of the brigade, was shot through the heart. He was a gallant and much-beloved officer, and he left a sick-bed when he heard of Lee moving into Pennsylvania, and, weak and emaciated, he found his regiment only two days before he was killed. Some of the men who fell in the wheat-field during the retreat of this division, and were forced to lie there between the two fires, fared badly. One man of my regiment fell shot through the leg, and while he lay there was hit five or six times. When it became evident that we had to fall back, our wounded begged piteously to be taken along — many of them keeping with us, wholly unaided. Sergeant Thos. Grey was shot through the stomach, and, with entrails protruding, managed to drag himself along, and succeeded in escaping with us.

It was now getting late; the sun was nearing the horizon, but the battle of the day was not yet

ended. The wheat-field was to have more victims. As Caldwell retired, Ayers came up and went in with his regulars—another effort to gain the wooded crest that extended from Little Round Top toward the peach orchard. As he advanced, he must have struck the flank of the Confederates that had but a short time before poured destruction into the rear of Caldwell's division. Ayers doubled them up, driving everything before him to somewhere near the point whence we had just been driven. Then McCandless took up the fight, and, with the Pennsylvania Reserves, succeeded in gaining and holding some of the lost ground. The fighting at this point, during the evening of July 2d, was of a most sanguinary character, each side fighting with a dreadful earnestness. Four or five of our best divisions had charged over the same spot, and were met every time by the choice troops of the enemy—both determined to hold the ridge in front of the wheat-field. General Buford says of the first day's fight: "There seems to be no directing head." This might be applied to the fighting of the left on the second day. If there was any directing head, it was not especially visible. Until toward dark, the fight

had certainly gone against us, and the battle had extended along the line, to the right, almost half way to the cemetery. The evening and our prospects grew dark together. The Third Corps had been driven back, broken and shattered, its commander wounded and carried from the field, the troops that had gone to its support fared no better, and every man felt that the situation was grave.

CHAPTER XIII.

HANCOCK TO THE RESCUE.

However, all was not yet lost. Meade had again thought of Hancock, and as yesterday he sent him to stop the rout of the First and Eleventh corps, so to-day he orders him to assume command on the left. Once more he is in the fight. A half-hour of daylight yet remains, but it is long enough to enable him to rally some of our scattered troops, face them once more to the front, gather re-enforcements, drive back the enemy, and restore our broken lines. At Waterloo, Wellington petitioned to God for "night or Blucher." At Gettysburg, on this evening, we had no Blucher to pray for. Our whole force was up; but, while omitting the last part of the great Englishman's prayer, we had every reason to adopt the first portion. As the fight was closing upon the left of our army, Ewell was striking a terrific and successful blow on the right. We reformed

our division on the Taneytown road, and after the rough handling we had received, had some difficulty in getting things in shape. As we were thus occupied, away to the right and rear we heard the yells of the Louisiana Tigers, as they rushed over our works at Culp's Hill. This was the most anxious hour of all in the great battle. We had been driven on the left, and on the right the rebs had effected a lodgment in our works, one of our strongest positions, and were, in fact, in our rear, without any adequate force to oppose them. Another hour of daylight, and unless some miracle had intervened, we would most likely have left Gettysburg without waiting to bid the inhabitants good evening. But, fortunately for us, there was no Joshua around Lee's head-quarters, so the sun went down on almanac time, utterly regardless of the little troubles that we were trying to settle. Darkness fell upon the scene, and prevented the enemy from taking further advantage of their success, giving us a chance to repair our disasters.

Few of us slept during this night. Our division went back and was put in position on Cemetery Ridge by General Hancock, who all the night

long labored to strengthen this line. The men gathered rocks and fence-rails, and used them to erect a light breastwork. Had the necessary tools been distributed to the troops, we could have intrenched this line and made it formidable; but we could not find a pick or a shovel, and the works that we did attempt were very light—scarcely sufficient to stop a musket-ball. During the whole night, mounted officers galloped to and fro, and troops were hurried to important points. At the first faint gray of the morning of July 3d, the fight was resumed on Culp's Hill, where darkness had interrupted it the night before, and from then until long after daylight the firing was heavy and incessant. We knew that Slocum was trying to drive the enemy out of our works, which they had slept in and occupied without invitation the night before. Culp's Hill was about a mile from where we lay, and we could hear the cheers of Geary's men, which came to us on the morning air, mingled with some rebel bullets, which had missed the mark for which they were intended, and, almost spent, went singing over our heads. As the day advanced, sounds of the artillery mingled with the musketry, and we knew that

a hard fight was in progress. The men of our line almost held their breath with anxiety. About nine o'clock the firing suddenly ceased. A tremendous cheer went up, and a minute later every man in the army knew that we were again in possession of Culp's Hill. Then came a few hours of peace, a perfect calm. From Cemetery Hill to Round Top not a movement had been observed, or a shot fired, all the morning.

About noon we could see considerable activity along Seminary Ridge. Battery after battery appeared along the edge of the woods. Guns were unlimbered, placed in position, and the horses taken to the rear. On our side, officers sat around in groups and, through field-glasses, anxiously watched these movements in our front, and wondered what it all meant. Shortly after one o'clock, however, we knew all about it. The head-quarter wagons had just come up, and General Gibbons had invited Hancock and staff to partake of some lunch. The bread that was handed around —if it ever was eaten—was consumed without butter, for as the orderly was passing the latter article to the gentlemen, a shell from Seminary Ridge cut him in two. Instantly the air was

filled with bursting shells. The batteries that we had been watching for the last two hours going into position in our front did not open singly or spasmodically. The whole hundred and twenty guns, which now began to play upon us, seemed to be discharged simultaneously, as though by electricity. And then for nearly two hours the storm of death went on. I have read many accounts of this artillery duel; but the most graphic description by the most able writers falls far short of the reality. No tongue or pen can find language strong enough to convey any idea of its awfulness. Streams of screaming projectiles poured through the hot air, falling and bursting everywhere. Men and horses were torn limb from limb; caissons exploded one after another in rapid succession, blowing the gunners to pieces. No spot within our lines was free from this frightful iron rain. The infantry hugged close to the earth, and sought every close shelter that our light earth-works afforded. It was literally a storm of shot and shell that the oldest soldiers there—those who had taken part in almost every battle of the war—had not yet witnessed. That awful rushing sound of the flying missiles,

which causes the firmest hearts to quail, is everywhere.

At this tumultuous moment we witness a deed of heroism such as we are apt to attribute only to the knights of olden time. Hancock, mounted and accompanied by his staff, Major Mitchell, Captain Harry Bingham, Captain Isaac Parker, and Captain E. P. Bronson, with the corps flag flying in the hands of a brave Irishman, Private James Wells, of the Sixth New York Cavalry, started at the right of his line, where it joins the Taneytown road, and slowly rode along the terrible crest to the extreme left of his position, while shot and shell roared and crashed around him, and every moment tore great gaps in the ranks at his side.

> "Stormed at with shot and shell,
> Boldly they rode, and well."

It was a gallant deed, and withal not a reckless exposure of life; for the presence and calm demeanor of the commander as he passed through the lines of his men, set them an example which an hour later bore good fruit, and nerved their

stout hearts to win *the greatest and most decisive battle ever fought on this continent.* For an hour after the firing began our batteries replied vigorously, and then ceased altogether; but the rebel shells came as numerous as ever. Then, for over a half hour, not a soul was seen stirring in our line—we might have been an army of dead men for all the evidence of life visible. Suddenly the enemy stopped their fire, which had been going on for nearly two hours without intermission, and then the long lines of their infantry—eighteen thousand strong—emerged from the woods and began their advance.

At this moment silence reigned along our whole line. With arms at a "right-shoulder shift," the divisions of Longstreet's corps moved forward with a precision that was wonderfully beautiful. It is now our turn, and the lines that a few moments before seemed so still now teemed with animation. Eighty of our guns open their brazen mouths; solid shot and shells are sent on their errand of destruction in quick succession. We see them fall in countless numbers among the advancing troops. The accuracy of our fire could not be excelled; the missiles strike right in the ranks,

tearing and rending them in every direction. The ground over which they have passed is strewn with dead and wounded. But on they come. The gaps in the ranks are closed as soon as made. They have three-quarters of a mile to march, exposed to our fire, and half the distance is nearly passed. Our gunners now load with canister, and the effect is appalling; but still they march on. Their gallantry is past all praise—it is sublime. Now they are within a hundred yards. Our infantry rise up and pour round after round into these heroic troops.

CHAPTER IX.

THE GALLANT MEN OF THE SOUTH.

At Waterloo the Old Guard recoiled before a less severe fire. But there was no recoil in these men of the South—they marched right on as though they courted death. They concentrate in great numbers and strike on the most advanced part of our line. The crash of the musketry and the cheers of the men blend together. The Philadelphia brigade occupies this point. They are fighting on their own ground and for their own State, and in the bloody hand-to-hand engagement which ensues, the Confederates, though fighting with desperate valor, find it impossible to dislodge them —they are rooted to the ground. Seeing how utterly hopeless further effort would be, and knowing the impossibility of reaching their lines should they attempt a retreat, large numbers of the rebels lay down their arms and the battle is won. To the left of the Philadelphia brigade we

did not get to such close quarters. Seeing the utter annihilation of Pickett's troops, the division of Wilcox and others on their right went to pieces almost before they got within musket range. A few here and there ran away and tried to regain their lines, but many laid down their arms and came in as prisoners. At the most critical moment, Hancock fell, among his men, on the line of Stannard's Vermont brigade, desperately wounded; but he continued to direct the fight until victory was secured, and then he sent Major Mitchell to announce the glad tidings to the Commander of the Army. Said he: "Tell General Meade that the troops under my command have repulsed the assault of the enemy, who are now flying in all directions in my front." "Say to General Hancock," said Meade, in reply, "I regret exceedingly that he is wounded, and that I thank him for the country and myself for the service he has rendered to-day." Truly, the country may thank General Hancock, as Congress afterward did, for his great service on that field.

Five thousand prisoners were sent to the rear, and we gathered up thirty-three regimental standards in front of the Second Corps. The remain-

ing hours of daylight during this day were occupied in caring for the wounded, looking over the field, and talking over the incidents of the fight. Many noble officers and men were lost on both sides, and in the camp hospital they died in hundreds during the afternoon and night. The rebel General Armistead died in this way. As he was being carried to the rear he was met by Captain Harry Bingham, of Hancock's staff, who, getting off his horse, asked him if he could do anything for him. Armistead requested him to take his watch and spurs to General Hancock, that they might be sent to his relatives. His wishes were complied with, General Hancock sending them to his friends the first opportunity. Armistead was a brave soldier, with a most chivalric presence, and came forward in front of his brigade, waving his sword. He was shot through the body and fell inside of our lines. Some of the wounded rebels showed considerable animosity toward our men. One of them, who lay mortally wounded in front of the Sixty-ninth Pennsylvania, sullenly refused to be taken to the hospital, saying that he wanted to die right there on the field where he fell. The scene after Longstreet's charge

was indescribable. In front of the Philadelphia brigade the dead lay in great heaps. Dismounted guns, ruins of exploded caissons, dead and mutilated men and horses, were piled up together in every direction.

The Colonel of one of Pickett's regiments lay dead, his arms clasping the body of his brother, who was Major of his regiment. They were singularly handsome men, and greatly resembled each other. Out on the field, where Longstreet's corps had passed, thousands of wounded were lying. We had no means of reaching these poor fellows, and many of them lay there between the lines until the morning of the 5th. On the 4th we lay quietly all day, awaiting the next event. The enemy could be seen moving around on Seminary Ridge. Welcome supplies came up and were issued. All hands felt cheerful, but a degree of uncertainty as to whether the battle was over, or whether the enemy were getting ready for some new movement, prevented us from celebrating the National Anniversary in a proper manner. Once in a while the sharpshooters would try their skill on some of our people, to let us know they were still there. The stench from the dead became almost

intolerable, and we tried to escape it by digging up the ground, and burying our faces in the fresh earth. On the morning of the 5th, we found that the enemy had gone, and then what a scene! I think the fact was first discovered by the troops on Culp's Hill, and oh! what a cheer went up—a cheer that swelled into a roar, and was taken up by the boys on Cemetery Hill, rolled along the crest to Round Top, and back again. Cheers for the Philadelphia brigade, that stood a living wall, against which the hosts beat in vain. Cheers for Meade, the soldier "without fear or reproach," who here began, with a great victory, his illustrious career as Commander of the Army of the Potomac. Cheers for Hancock, who had stemmed the tide of defeat on the first day, and selected the ground on which this glorious victory was achieved; who on the second day had again stopped the tide of rebel victory, and restored our shattered lines, and, on the third day, had met and repulsed the final assault, on which Lee's all was staked, and won the battle that was really the death-blow to the Rebellion.

CHAPTER X.

HANCOCK THE ORATOR.

On March 8, 1864, was held at Tammany Hall, in New York, a public meeting, the object of which was to recruit the corps commanded by Gen. Hancock. Mr. Elijah F. Purdy, the well-known war-horse of the Democracy, took the chair. Among those who contributed letters to the proceedings was Gen. Dix. Gen. Thomas Francis Meagher, Gen. Carl Schurz, Gen. Viele, and Mr. James T. Brady made effective and eloquent addresses.

Gen. Hancock said:

I am highly honored by the invitation to meet so many of the citizens of New York on this occasion, in this ancient temple of the Democracy. I am delighted to accompany on the war-path that element of the political parties of the country which has heretofore been so successful in shaping its destinies. With the assistance of the powers

beyond, there should be no such word as failure in any operation, not even that of putting down by force of arms the existing gigantic Rebellion against the Constitutional rule of the Government. [Cheers.] We have come here to-night, not to talk of peace—for, in the opinion of practical men, that time has passed. We find a Rebellion on our hands of proportions not equaled in modern times. We have not met here to discuss the manner of putting it down. That, men sensitive of honor have decided, can only be done by blows. We have been engaged in that operation for a considerable time, and are determined to persevere in it until the desired result is obtained. We know, also, that our integrity and honor are at stake in carrying it through to a successful issue. We are here to-night for war, and, when war has performed its part, we then will leave it to those to discuss the terms of peace whom the Constitution of the country has invested with that power, and our terms of peace are the integrity of and obedience to the civil laws of the land. [Great cheering.] Our armies have been prosperous, as can be readily seen by looking at the map of the country occupied by the contending forces; but the Rebellion

is gaining heart by the distractions among our people, caused by unpatriotic factions, and by the sympathies of the disloyal among us, and is determined to make one grand effort to force us back. It will probably be the last. [Great applause.] To make it sure that the enemy shall not resist our triumphant march, it is necessary for us to give to the Government a sufficient force to make such a result impossible. With our great preponderance of population, it is easy for us to do so. With a great force on our side, this war will be short. Let us all, therefore, take a part, and the honor may be equally divided. No man can afford to be unpatriotic in time of war. That has been proven, and there are numbers of persons living who are evidences of the fact. Let every man, therefore, who values his honor and that of his children, enter the service of his country, if he is in circumstances to permit him to do so; and, if not, let him, if possible, keep a representative in the field. For the mass of men, inducements to enter the service are now so great that no one need claim he should be exempt because they are not greater. Every one whose circumstances permitted him to shoulder a musket in this war, and

has failed to do so, and those who have not done their duty at home in assisting to put men in the field, will regret their want of action when peace again smiles over the country. Too late then for them to repair their error. Even their children will despise them, and woman, too, who judges man by his deeds, will smile upon only those who, in this war, have acted with manliness and patriotism. [Great cheering.] I have command of the Second Corps, composed of fifty regiments of veteran troops. They have trod the paths of glory so well, that no man need be afraid of going astray who may join them. Nineteen of these regiments are from your State, and thirteen from your city. Men entering either of those organizations need not fear but on the march, and in camp, and in time of battle they will feel confidence in themselves from the fact of being surrounded by veterans so ready to share with them all the danger, and who will equally divide the honor, claiming no advantage on account of their greater experience. No one need fear that he will not make a good soldier. The man on his right and on his left will give him confidence. They have trod the paths of glory before. We

have room for all nationalities. We have the Irish Brigade. [Cheers.] We have the German legions, and many others known to you by some means. We had a Tammany regiment also. [Cheers.] Any man can find in the New York City regiments of the Second Corps, companions who sympathize with him. There are places for all. Let them come. I will also say to the representatives of the sturdy class which form the backbone of our army, that no men are more deeply interested in this war than themselves. If the Gov ernment is preserved, they will preserve their liber ties, and the result to them may be a sad experience if the Government should fail in putting down the Rebellion for the want of strong arms. Come, then, and join the force in the field. Come now, for you are wanted. The veterans, by re-enlisting, have set an example well worth following. Their acts show their confidence in the future. [Cheers.]

CHAPTER XI.

SUBSEQUENT ACTIVE SERVICES IN THE FIELD.

In March, 1864, Gen. Hancock returned to the field and took command of his old corps. The last great campaign of the war was at hand, and he prepared himself for the struggle. With the ranks of the Second Corps well recruited through his efforts at the North, and with his command still further increased by the addition of the gallant old Third Corps, making in all upward of fifty thousand men, he became again the most conspicuous figure in the Battle of the Wilderness, on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of May. In this bloody engagement, commenced on the second anniversary of the day at Williamsburg when he won his first renown, Hancock again displayed his old tactics of repelling the enemy by a counter-charge at the crisis of the fight, and again, to steady and encourage his troops, threw himself among them, sword in hand, and exposed himself like the veriest gren-

adier. On the 10th, at the engagement of the "Po," he commanded the Second and Fifth corps and made an assault on the enemy's lines at Allsop's House, near Spottsylvania. On the 12th, in immediate command of the Second Corps, he accomplished one of the most brilliant and successful feats of the war. The enemy occupied a strongly intrenched position at Spottsylvania, but, notwithstanding the advantage of ground possessed, it was necessary to carry it at whatever cost. He ordered his corps to make the assault at daylight. Fortunately, favored by a dense fog, a partial surprise was effected, the position was carried with a rush, and five thousand prisoners, twenty pieces of artillery, thirty stands of colors, and several thousand muskets were the fruits of the victory. It was a most disastrous blow to Lee, and without doubt it contributed more than any single achievement of the campaign to the ultimate success of the Union cause. A rebel Major-General, with nearly his entire division, was captured. Among the Brigadiers taken was Gen. George H. Stewart, an acquaintance of Gen. Hancock, and a former Regular Army officer. This person was ushered into Gen. Hancock's presence.

The latter, with characteristic frankness, offered his prisoner his hand with the remark, "Stewart, I'm glad to see you." Stewart, who was afflicted with overwhelming ideas of his own importance, drawing himself up, said, "Under the circumstances, sir, I cannot take your hand." With quiet composure, Gen. Hancock replied: "Under any other circumstances, sir, I would not have offered you my hand." In this retort the character of the man revealed itself in its most attractive colors. He respected misfortune in any man. On the 18th, Gen. Hancock again assaulted the enemy's lines near Spottsylvania; on the 19th he repelled an attack in force by Ewell's Corps, on Tyler's Division of the Second Corps, Ewell losing several hundred men, and being driven by Hancock's counter-attack across the Nye River in great disorder. On the 23d and 24th of May he engaged the enemy on the North Anna, and fought again at Tolopotomy on the 29th, 30th, and 31st. At the dreadful engagement at Coal Harbor, June 3d, he was again engaged, and took prominent part in the operations before the enemy's works at that place up to June 12th. The army having crossed the James, on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of June he was actively en-

gaged in the assaults on the enemy's works before Petersburg. But the hardships of the campaign had the effect of reopening the wound received at Gettysburg, and on the evening of the 17th of June his iron constitution broke down, and he was compelled, with the greatest reluctance, to turn over the command of his corps, though he did not leave the field. During the greater part of the campaign, indeed, he had suffered the most intense pain, being compelled to occupy an ambulance during the march, and only mounting his horse when his troops came in contact with the enemy. The wound was in the upper part of the thigh. It had fractured and splintered the upper part of the femur, and at one time it was thought that his life could not be saved. A splendid constitution, however, and the best surgical skill had brought him through the worst, and his entire recovery would have followed, had not his impatience to be with his command in the field prevailed over his judgment. The penalty for this he now had to pay by a brief retirement from the command of his corps. On the 27th of June, however, he again took command, and participated in the operations before Petersburg until July 26th, when he crossed to

the north side of the James River, with his corps and a division of cavalry, and assaulted the enemy's lines at Deep Bottom, capturing the outer works, 200 prisoners, several stands of colors, and four pieces of artillery. On the 12th of August he was made Brigadier-General in the Regular Army. On the same day, in command of his own, the Second Corps, the Tenth Corps, and a division of cavalry, he again assaulted the enemy's lines at Deep Bottom. The fighting was severe. A part of the enemy's works was carried, 300 prisoners, three stands of colors, and four howitzers being taken. On the 25th of August he fought the battle of Reams' Station, with two divisions of his own corps and a division of cavalry, against a greatly superior force of the enemy. Another horse was shot under him there. On the 27th of October, with the same force, he was engaged at Boydton Road, inflicting heavy loss in killed and wounded on the enemy, driving him from the field and capturing 1,000 prisoners and two stands of colors.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR.

On the 26th of November, General Hancock was detached from the Army of the Potomac and ordered to Washington. There were then many veteran soldiers in the country, whose terms of service had expired, and the Government considered the best means of calling into the field this desirable element. Veteran soldiers having been once honorably discharged, hesitate to re-enter the service in regiments recruited since their own enlistments; so it was thought advisable to raise a corps which should consist of veterans alone. The man to whom the President first looked was, in regard both to the length and severity of his service, the chief of all the veteran General Officers of the Army, and that man was General Hancock. It was determined to make this corps 50,000 strong, and it was very justly believed that, with

Hancock at the head of this organization, the old soldiers would at once flock to the standard, and the force be recruited in the shortest possible time. This idea proved a correct one. This accomplished, General Hancock was again ordered to the front, in command of the Middle Military Division, and made his head-quarters at Winchester, the division embracing the departments of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Washington, and the force under his command including the Army of the Shenandoah, amounting to nearly one hundred thousand men of all branches of the service. With this force it was expected a decisive blow, in one direction or the other, would be struck, and General Hancock was under orders to be ready to move at a few hours' notice, either on Lynchburg, to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac, or to take transports for the Southern coast, to co-operate with General Sherman, as the exigencies of the campaign should demand. The sudden breaking of Lee's lines at Petersburg, and the surrender at Appomatox, rendered neither of these movements necessary.

This, the last part of his active military service, while marked with no shock of opposing forces,

was, nevertheless, destined to be a period of great excitement to himself as well as to the country. While his head-quarters were still in the Valley of the Shenandoah, in April, 1865, the conspirators against the lives of the President and his Cabinet consummated, in part, their plot, and President Lincoln was murdered, Secretary Seward was nearly stabbed to death, and the country was panic-stricken by the sudden evidence of a widespread, deep-laid plot to destroy the entire Government by the dastardly and barbarous method of secret and concerted assassination. The millions who still live to remember that day will testify that the Northern people were never before so shaken and unnerved, even when confronted with the severest disasters in the field as on that dreadful Friday, in April, 1865. It seemed to most patriotic people as though the sun of liberty had gone into perpetual eclipse. A feeling of such universal fear and distrust pervaded the nation, that men looked in each other's faces with the despair which comes over the soul when nature experiences some awful cataclysm, and when there is no longer any hope for mankind. Happily, this feeling was only temporary, but while it lasted it

was universal and real. General Hancock was summoned at once to Washington. The extent of the conspiracy soon became known, and the measures taken by him to confront the secret peril were thorough, and contributed greatly to allay the terror. When Hancock's presence in Washington was known over the country, as it soon was announced by telegraph, men said to each other, "Thank God, a man is in Washington now who can be trusted in any emergency." General Hancock remained in Washington, by order of President Johnson, during the days of the trial of the conspirators, and until after their execution. Much interest has been exhibited in this part of his service, and the prominence of his position has, in the minds of some ignorant people, made his connection with the execution of the prisoners more intimate than is true. It must be remembered that he was in command of a force in and about the Capitol, of about one hundred thousand men, having, practically, only the Secretary of War and the President as his superiors. With the details of the guarding and care of the prisoners he had nothing whatever to do. They were confined in the Arsenal, and the commander there was General Hartranft, who took

the position by order of the Secretary of War. A military commission, ordered by the President, tried the prisoners, found them guilty, condemned some of them to death, and the findings of the military court were approved by the President. It was unquestionably to be lamented that they should have been thus tried. The conviction of the guilty could in all probability have been effected by a jury. But the nation was in a bloody struggle for existence, and martial law prevailed, for our armies were yet in the field. It was particularly to be lamented that one of the condemned persons was a woman, and the regret is the deeper when, in calmer times, people who considered the case carefully are convinced that, so far as the crime of assassination was concerned, she was guiltless. The execution had been ordered for the 8th day of July. On the 6th, Messrs. Aiken and Clampitt, the counsel of Mrs. Surratt, went before United States Justice Wylie and procured a writ of *habeas corpus*. This was served by the Marshal of the district on General Hancock as the military head of the division. As was his duty, he forwarded it to his superior, the President of the United States, and the Commander in Chief.

President Johnson at once issued the following proclamation:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, July 7.

"*To Major-General Hancock, Commander, etc.:*

"I, Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, do hereby declare that the writ of *habeas corpus* has been heretofore suspended in such cases as this; and I do hereby especially suspend this writ, and direct that you proceed and execute the order heretofore given you upon the judgment of the military commission, and you will give this order in return to this writ."

This was indorsed on the writ, and, accompanied by United States Attorney-General Speed, General Hancock presented himself before Justice Wylie, and made return to the document. The execution took place the following day. General Hancock saw that the only hope for Mrs. Surratt lay in the power of her daughter to move the President's heart, and he so informed her, and gave her every facility in his power to gain access to the President. So great was his anxiety in regard to the looked-for pardon or reprieve that he placed a line of mounted sentinels from the White House to the

place of execution, that the words of grace, if spoken at the last minute, should go surely and swiftly. But no such words were spoken, and to the now almost universal regret of the people, Mrs. Surratt died.

In the latter part of July, 1865, General Hancock was promoted to the command of the Middle Department, with head-quarters at Baltimore, having previously been brevetted Major-General in the Regular Army for "gallant and meritorious services at Spottsylvania." In July, 1866, he received the full grade of Major-General in the Army, and assumed command of the Department of Missouri, conducting several important and arduous campaigns against the hostile Indians in Kansas, Colorado, and the Indian Territory. With his command of the Department of Missouri his more active military life may be said to have ceased, and his civil services for his country to have commenced. Although briefer in regard to time, and unattended with exposure and personal danger, they were of the highest importance to the welfare of the country, and alone would entitle him to the renown of a statesman and a benefactor of his age.

CHAPTER XIII.

JOHN W. FORNEY ON GETTYSBURG AND MRS. SURRATT'S EXECUTION.

Mr. John W. Forney, the veteran journalist and politician, and tireless commentator on public men and affairs, needs no introduction. A Republican—read what he says:

To show how I felt at the critical moment, seventeen years ago, I reprint what I wrote in *The Press* on Tuesday, the 7th of July, 1863, not only to prove my plain duty to General Hancock, as the survivor of this glorious triumvirate, but also the duty of all the people of Philadelphia to that incomparable soldier. I recall it at once as a personal pledge and promise, and the solemn covenant of a great community to a great soldier.

"Meanwhile, the Army of the Potomac, suddenly placed under the command of General Meade, whom we are proud to claim as a fellow-citizen, hastened northward, and fell upon the rash and

audacious enemy. We know the result. *Neither our children, nor our children's children, to the remotest generation, shall ever forget it, or fail to remember it with a thrill of gratitude and honest pride.* The rebels were assailed with unexampled fury, and the gallant General Reynolds, a Pennsylvania soldier, laid down his life. The struggle raged for several days, the losses on both sides were fearful, *and still the result seemed doubtful. If we should fail, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, perhaps New York, would be doomed. In this crisis of the nation's fate, it was Pennsylvania that came to the rescue.* IT WAS GENERAL HANCOCK, A PENNSYLVANIAN, WHO SO NOBLY BORE THE BRUNT OF THE BATTLE ON CEMETERY HILL."

The veterans of his old army corps, and of the Pennsylvania Reserves, Democrats and Republicans, officers and men, regard Hancock with the admiration that the Old Guard felt for Murat. They were alike in personal beauty and splendid horsemanship, only Hancock was more cultivated, polite, and scholarly. How the greater chiefs regarded him, let the General of all the armies of

the Republic answer. Last Thursday, June 24th, 1880, General Sherman said to one of the newspaper reporters of Washington: "*If you will sit down and write the best thing that can be put in language about General Hancock as an officer and a gentleman, I will sign it without hesitation.*"

General Hancock was one of the favorites of Abraham Lincoln. Even the saturnine and exacting Stanton was his friend. To me Hancock was more than attractive. I had known his blood, his brothers, his associates, his comrades in arms, and whenever I had a party at my rooms on Capitol Hill, he was there if he was in Washington; he and such men as Sickles, Rawlings, George H. Thomas, Senator Chase, Mr. Seward, Judge Holt, Sumner, Ben Wade, General Butler, General Meade, General Reynolds, and the whole galaxy of patriots. We did not think of politics in those days. We were, to use the blazing watch-word of Douglas in 1861, "we were all patriots;" and if Hancock was liked a little better than others, it was because, while he fought like a lion for the old flag, he never denied that he was a Democrat. I believe he and Grant have had a difference in military matters; but a little incident of rather

recent occurrence will show how Hancock feels in regard to his old commander. We were acting as pall-bearers at the funeral of poor Scott Stuart, who died in London in the winter of 1878, and was buried in Philadelphia a few weeks after. As we were riding to the grave, one of the company broke out in very angry denunciation of General Grant, and, according to a habit never to allow an absent friend to be assailed in my presence, I warmly and promptly defended the ex-President. I cannot give General Hancock's words, but he was courteous and dignified in seconding my opinions, and in expressing his regret that the scene had taken place in his presence. I was also in Washington during Mrs. Surratt's trial and execution as a participant in the murder of Abraham Lincoln, and can bear personal testimony to the manly bearing of General Hancock, who was the military officer in command of the National Capital in 1865. The attempt to arouse Catholic hostility to him because he carried out the orders of the Government, President Andrew Johnson, and Secretary of War Stanton, is one of the worst exhibitions of party defamation, and disgraces all who are engaged in it. He did not hesitate to

express his repugnance at the fearful duty forced upon him. Nobody in Washington had any doubt about his sentiments fifteen years ago. Hence, when Judge Clampitt, now of Chicago, Mrs. Surratt's leading counsel in 1865, comes forth as he does in Don Piatt's Washington *Capital*, and states as follows, he does what is equally well known to myself:

"Hancock," continued Judge Clampitt, "had no more to do with these details or matters than you had. When Judge Wylie, with a Roman majesty of character issued, almost at the peril of his life, the writ of *habeas corpus* in the case of Mrs. Surratt, President Johnson and Secretary Stanton decided to suspend the writ, and the execution followed.

"We had hopes to the last of a reprieve and a pardon for Mrs. Surratt, and I waited at the arsenal, hoping against hope. General Hancock rode down, and approaching him I asked, 'Are there any hopes?' He shook his head slowly and mournfully, and, with a sort of gasping catch in his speech, said: 'I am afraid not. No; there is not.'

"He then walked off a bit—he had dismounted—and gave some orders to his orderlies, and walked about for a moment or two. Returning, he said to me:

"'I have been in many a battle, and have seen death, and mixed with it in disaster and in victory. I've been in a living hell of fire, and shell, and grape-shot, and, by God! I'd sooner be there ten thousand times over than to give the order this day for the execution of that poor woman. But I am a soldier, sworn to obey, and obey I must.'

"This is the true and genuine history of all that Hancock had in common with the affair. He was commanding, and as commander and conservator of the National Capital, was compellantly obedient to the orders of the Court which sentenced the conspirators and the so-called conspirator to death. He had no voice in the matter, and could have no action save as the agent to see that the letter of the law was carried out in an order of alphabetic certainty."

Calumny of any kind on General Hancock is a bad crutch to help the ambition of weak men. It is the last resort of imbecile partisanship, and will

have no more effect than if it were employed to scandalize the dead President Johnson or the dead Secretary Stanton. It is like the attempt to say that his nomination is his surrender to the South he conquered, which would be like saying that when a great soldier receives the highest honors from those he had taken prisoners in battle, he has become their prisoner in turn. Considering that we Republicans have been trying to get the South to support our candidates for the last fifteen years, this logic is very lame indeed.

CHAPTER XIV.

WADE HAMPTON EXPRESSES THE FEELING OF THE SOUTH TO HANCOCK.

Before presenting the history of General Hancock's civil administration, which is chiefly documentary, and therefore strictly accurate, I shall here incorporate some contributions of Southern and Northern statesmen, the former to show how keenly was the suffering of the Southern people from military oppression subsequent to the war, notwithstanding their re-asserted loyalty to the Union; the latter to exhibit the temper of judicially-minded publicists and jurists, whose fame is international.

And it is well here to remember that it was General Hancock who first coined and bequeathed to the English language the term *Carpet-bagger*. As Roget says, "An artful watchword, thrown among combustible material, has changed the destiny of an empire."

COLUMBIA, S. C., July 10th, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR:

In accordance with your request, I give you a few of the many reasons which would render the election of General Hancock of incalculable benefit to the whole country, and which make his candidacy so acceptable to the South. In the great upheaval that followed the war, the Southern people realized that their only safeguard was a return to constitutional methods and limitations.

They naturally placed no confidence in a party whose leaders did not hesitate to declare that they "were camping outside of the Constitution," and they turned quite as naturally to that other great party, which, while insisting on the recognition and enforcement of all the legitimate results of the war, upheld that instrument as the supreme law of the land.

The South, as a rule, has always been Democratic, and it should be borne in mind that when the "Solid South" is held up as a menace to the North, there is no sense in the foolish catchword. The South is not solid against the North, nor against the Government, nor against the Consti-

tution. It is simply solid in its adherence to the party to which it has always given its allegiance, and to those principles which have been maintained and illustrated by that party. The pressing needs of the South are peace, self-government, home rule, and settled, well-regulated systems of polity. Every thoughtful man must know that the bitter sectional feeling which has been so sedulously cultivated by the Republican party since the war, has, more than all other causes combined, not only kept alive the bitter animosities of the past, but injured the material and political interests of the country. The South not only realizes this fact, but she has been taught to feel it by sad experience. Hence it has been her sincere desire, her earnest effort, to restore harmony between the different sections of the country.

Since the war, her sole object in every Democratic Convention has been to try to ascertain what candidate would be most acceptable to the Northern wing of the party; and she has always come to the support of such candidate, cordially and heartily. She seeks only the success of the Democratic party—not from any sectional or selfish motive, but because she looks to that party for

the permanent pacification and the enduring prosperity of the whole country. In the late Convention at Cincinnati, it was noticeable that the South had no candidate of her own to present, nor did she press the claims of any special favorite. There was even no concentration of her votes upon any one, and she was only anxious to secure such a nomination as would insure victory to the Democratic party, and give peace to the whole country. When the indications pointed to Hancock as the man to effect these objects, the Southern delegates came to his support with unanimity and enthusiasm. The Southern people will support him as a Presidential candidate in the same spirit, for they recognize him as one of the highest types of the American soldier and citizen—a soldier without fear and without reproach—whose sword has always been at his country's service; a citizen who, when that sword was sheathed, bowed his head to the majesty of the law. They remember that when he was placed in command of several great States of this Union, he exercised the almost unrestricted power of his position not tyrannically, but humanely; that he gave to the citizens of those States the protection of the Constitution, and

that he ruled, not by martial, but by civil law. This honorable conduct on his part has won the respect and admiration, not only of the South, but of the whole country, and men of all sections and of all parties look forward to his election with the confident assurance that it will give peace to the whole country ; that it will restore to the Government the dignity and the integrity it possessed of old ; and that it will bury forever that fell spirit of sectionalism which has been the curse of our country. The people recall the brave and statesmanlike words uttered by Hancock in 1867, when he was about to assume command in Louisiana, and they believe that the patriotism which inspired these words will guide him in the elevated position to which he will soon be called.

"My highest desire," he then said, "will be to perform the duties of my new sphere—not in the interest of parties or of partisans, but for the benefit of my country, the honor of my profession, and, I trust also, for the welfare of the people committed to my care." Fresh as he was from the great Civil War, he could yet express a hope that he might discharge his duties "for the welfare of the people committed to my care." But before he

uttered these kind words, his competitor for the exalted position of President, General Garfield, had made his memorable declaration in Congress, that "anything is just which excludes from privilege and power all those infamous men who participated in Rebellion." Between the soldier who fought only for the restoration of the Union, the supremacy of the Constitution, and the equality of all the States, and the staff-officer who advocates the disfranchisement of all who opposed him, and the perpetual degradation and humiliation of the Southern people, there can be little hesitation as to choice. We cannot grasp the hand of Garfield on the terms he has laid down, but we can take that of the brave soldier Hancock, who, successful in war, was magnanimous in peace.

I am very respectfully yours,

WADE HAMPTON.

ALVAN S. SOUTHWORTH, ESQ.

CHAPTER XV.

SOUTHERN HOPES AND ASPIRATIONS.

The Hon. Roger A. Pryor, a General in the Confederate cause, and outspoken in the House of Representatives, before the out break of the Civil War, as a pronounced advocate of extreme Southern ideas, has furnished the author with his views in regard to the loyalty of the South to the Union touching the Presidential canvass. Coming from the source they do, expressed in language so eloquent and sincere, these words, from a stout spirit and a warm heart, touch closely the professions and deeds of men like Lamar, Hampton, Gordon, and Alexander H. Stephens, who were whelmed in the bloody storm of 1860–61. Need the North fear such men as he? Read:

With the people of the South, affection for the Union was a sentiment of ancestral pride, as well as a principle of traditional policy; and only by the urgency of some casual and extraordinary

crisis could they ever have been precipitated into Secession. They went about to erect a separate government for themselves—not from an impulse of hostility to the Union, but from an attachment to principles they had been taught to think paramount to the Union itself; and in parting from the Union, they felt all the pangs of violated nature, as well as the griefs of baffled hope. But now, that slavery no longer impinges on their understanding with a sinister bias, and the idol of State sovereignty no longer challenges of them a divided duty, love of the Union resumes its original ascendancy in their hearts; the beneficence of the Union claims a supreme consideration in their counsels.

Be assured, Southern statesmanship is not so blinded in its proverbial sagacity as not to see that, henceforth, the strength and security of the South are to be found only under the shield of the Union. Against the perils of foreign invasion it gains in the Union the bulwark of a mighty prestige and an invincible Army. As a guaranty of peace between its discordant peoples, the ever-imminent intervention of the Federal arm will operate to deter the unruly and to tranquilize the

timid. Freedom, and facility of access to every part of this vast and opulent land, opens to the enterprise of the South a boundless field of adventure, and imparts to its industrial and commercial energies a quickening impulse of development and fruition. Meanwhile, an expedient recoils upon its source, and, by augmenting the political power of the South, enables its aspiring spirits to play a splendid and superior part on the theater of Federal affairs.

If, in contrast with the brilliant future offered to the South in the Union, you contemplate for a moment the destiny to which it would be condemned by another civil convulsion, caused by another revolt against the Federal power—the havoc and carnage of a war, aggravated by a conflict between races, and issuing inevitably in the catastrophe of a remorseless subjugation—you cannot, on the supposition that the Southern people are rational beings, impute to them any other policy or purpose than to cling to the Union, as their only and all-sufficient shelter and support.

No blame, then, for that stupendous folly, the War of the Secession, attaches to the men who bore

its brunt. The politician began it; the soldier only ended it. And during its progress, whatever of barbarity aggravated its essential ills is imputable, not to the fighting man, but to the civilian. Clemency, no less than courage, is the ornament of true knighthood; but while the soldier's spirit is exalted by the ambition of glorious deeds, the politician stoops to mean resentments and ignoble reprisals. For those acts of vengeance, of which each side hastens now to exculpate itself to history—over which it behooves both to drop the veil of oblivion—for those dastardly and despicable inhumanities the men of the Cabinet are accountable; and the luster of Hancock's and Lee's renown is untarnished by the atrocities of the prison camp. The columns of neither Army, in their intrepid onset, were inflamed by the incitements of passion; but in the fury of the combat, feeling still for his foe the affection of a former and future brother, the soldier gladly sheathed his sword from its bloody execution. In every pause of battle, the contending hosts intermingled, and for their involuntary cruelties made atonement by an eager interchange of the charities of humanity. On the field of Antietam, while the carnage stayed,

that the wounded and dying might be taken away from the dreadful scene, a Confederate General and your own gallant Meagher grasped hands in pledge of a friendship the shock of war could not break asunder, and in instinctive but unspoken presage of a community of country that returning peace should restore and perpetuate.

And so with all. Call the roll of fighting men, whether in the Army or the Navy, and mark one known to fame who was not the friend of peace —the advocate of conciliation. The soldier is a patriot from necessity—by the habits of education, and by the instincts of honor, which to him are the principles of nature. Identified with the fortunes of no party, implicated in the intrigues of no faction, he looks to the country for the recognition and reward of his valor. Meaning himself to fight if peace be impossible, and well aware that war is the consummation of human woe, he shrinks back from the dread arbitrament till duty bids him draw his sword.

CHAPTER XVI.

HANCOCK AS KNOWN TO DAVID DAVIS, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, ALGERNON S. SULLIVAN, AND JOHN KELLY.

The gentlemen whose contributions to this volume are here inserted, represent every phase of party and independent action in national politics.

They vary in religion, occupation, general views of public policy, and come from widely-differing sections of the Union. They are distinct types of men.

They are known from long service in public affairs.

They are exponents of individual wealth, of judicial training, of diplomatic acuteness and triumph, of high forensic ability, of executive genius, and rugged personal power.

They have met as foes on many a hard-fought political field.

They are an important part of the national life.

Could tribute stronger, indorsement heartier, pledges sincerer, or appreciation warmer, be expressed by men unaccustomed to indulge in exuberance of fancy or delirium of phrase? These words of truth and soberness should be remembered by all.

* * * * *

No candid man of any party will deny General Hancock's great services to the Union, or refuse to commend his admirable conduct when intrusted with the largest military power.

DAVID DAVIS.

BLOOMINGTON, ILL., July 12, 1880.

* * * * *

I propose to vote for General Hancock, because I cannot vote for my party which has been tainted by frauds in the last election. But I am too far advanced in life to think of treading over the battle-fields again.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

QUINCY, MASS., July 5, 1880.

* * * * *

General Hancock was one of a Court-martial, or

rather a Court of Inquiry, in the case of General Dyer, Chief of Ordnance. The Court consisted of Gen. Thomas, Gen. Hancock, and Gen. Marcy. It sat for two months. I defended Gen. Dyer; and I can bear testimony to the high judicial qualities which Gen. Hancock showed on that occasion. I do not disparage the qualities of Gen. Thomas when I say—for I speak only of General Hancock—that I perceived he was more than a mere soldier. He has a well-balanced mind and judgment of a superior order.

Very truly yours,

DAVID DUDLEY FIELD.

NEW YORK, July 20, 1880.

* * * * *

NEW YORK, July 10, 1880.

DEAR MR. SOUTHWORTH:

With some diffidence, I respond to your request in relation to your expected book, "The Life of General Hancock." But how can any American withhold a grateful public tribute to him? In times of peace, it has fallen to the lot of few men to hold unlimited power over States to which their civil laws were to be restored, if at all, at his will

only. History hardly has an instance where, in such a case, its possessor, declining to exercise his power, set up the civil law above the sword. General Hancock's example is one of the most notable and honorable exceptions in public annals.

But if I may emphasize that particular in his civil administration which sometimes seems to me to constitute his greatest public service, let me present it by quoting his own declaration: "Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the *strongest* inducements to peace and order." The occasion, when these words were uttered, gave to them significance and value, like that which attached to the addresses of Washington at the close of the War of Independence. At the period of Gen. Hancock's civil administration, the most threatening fountain of political danger was the growing desire for what was called, "strong government." Gen. Hancock's sagacity to discern the danger was only equaled by his wisdom in meeting it. He corrected the error which was spreading through the public mind. The votaries of monarchy, and caste, and privileged classes have clung to the illusion that absolutism, and centrali-

zation, and supremacy of classes and bayonets are the conditions of *strength* for the State. The ideas of the men who framed our institutions were born of higher thoughts than these. Every violation of the natural rights and equality of persons, every subtraction from popular liberty by centralization, substitutes weakness for strength in the State. General Hancock built his political faith on the sure "corner-stone," trust in the people.

Your friend and obedient servant,

ALGERNON S. SULLIVAN.

* * * * *

NEW YORK, July 22, 1880.

The nomination, by the Democratic National Convention, of Major-General Winfield S. Hancock for President of the United States, has been received in every section of our country with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of approval. Every day, the increasing popularity of the ticket has given proof of its wisdom. The confidence of the people was won at the very beginning of the campaign—before the echoes of the first hundred guns, fired in its honor, had fairly died away. Our standard-bearer in this battle is a gallant soldier,

known and honored by his countrymen, familiar with those principles of constitutional law which have come down to us from the fathers, and which, laying broad foundations for a firm and stable Government, based on civil and religious liberty, have preserved us as a nation, and made us a free and enlightened people.

General Hancock's record is a part of the history of this country. As a soldier, modest and unassuming, loved and respected by his comrades; as a commander, distinguished for his courage and signal ability on every field in which his troops were engaged; as a Military Governor, characterized by obedience to law, holding the civil law supreme in time of peace, and recognizing the rights of the people, General Hancock has shown himself worthy of the suffrages of his fellow citizens, and qualified by his training and experience to fill with honor the exalted station for which the Democratic party has placed him in nomination. His administration would be eminently conservative. The industries of the country would be fostered and protected. Under him, as the head of the nation, there would be no disturbance of settled interests. The united Democracy of the State of New York

will respond to the nomination of Hancock and English, in November, by sending thirty-five votes to the Electoral College in favor of the nominees of the Cincinnati National Convention.

Respectfully,

JOHN KELLY.

CHAPTER XVII.

MILITARY GOVERNOR. LETTER TO GOVERNOR PEASE OF TEXAS.

In November, 1867, Gen. Hancock assumed command of the Fifth Military District, comprising the States of Louisiana and Texas. Under the provisions of the Military Reconstruction Acts, the South, undergoing a period of probation, was gradually to resume its relations with the Union. The tempestuous years of Johnson's administration, and the indignant protests of the impoverished and war-begrimed States (then but recently in rebellion) against the joint oppressions of Federal commanders and rapacious carpet-baggers, demanded a bold man, with high principles of administrative conduct, to make a firm stand in the chief city of the South-west. The times, and the intricate problems of government presented, called for the soothing influences of a courageous and upright spirit, with a judicial appreciation of the patriotic duty of a

ruler. His civil career while there is submitted in his own language, without amplification or comment. He assumed command at New Orleans in his celebrated order in the following words:

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 40. } NEW ORLEANS, LA, November 29, 1867.

I. In accordance with general orders No. 81, Head-quarters of the Army, Adjutant-General's Office, Washington, D. C., August 27th, 1867, Major-General W. S. Hancock hereby assumes command of the Fifth Military District and of the Department composed of the States of Louisiana and Texas.

II. The General Commanding is gratified to learn that peace and quiet reign in this Department. It will be his purpose to preserve this condition of things. As a means to this great end he regards the maintenance of the civil authorities in the faithful execution of the laws as the most efficient under existing circumstances.

In war it is indispensable to repel force by force, and overthrow and destroy opposition to

lawful authority. But when insurrectionary force has been overthrown and peace established, and the civil authorities are ready and willing to perform their duties, the military power should cease to lead, and the civil administration resume its natural and rightful dominion. Solemnly impressed with these views, the General announces that the great principles of American liberty are still the lawful inheritance of this people, and ever should be. The right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, the natural rights of persons, and the rights of property must be preserved.

Free institutions, while they are essential to the prosperity and happiness of the people, always furnish the strongest inducements to peace and order. Crimes and offenses committed in this district must be referred to the consideration and judgment of the regular civil tribunals, and those tribunals will be supported in their lawful jurisdiction.

Should there be violations of existing laws which are not inquired into by the civil magistrates, or should failures in the administration of justice by the courts be complained of, the cases will be re-

ported to these head-quarters, when such orders will be made as may be deemed necessary.

While the General thus indicates his purpose to respect the liberties of the people, he wishes all to understand that armed insurrection or forcible resistance to the law will be instantly suppressed by arms.

By command of MAJOR-GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.
[Official.]

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The following admirable letter was written and published by Gen. Hancock toward the close of his administration at New Orleans, in reply to the application of Governor Pease, of Texas, for the establishment of military commissions in that State. It deserves a careful reading, and in it may be found a triumphant vindication of the principles upon which Gen. Hancock conducted his administration. No conservative citizen can read it without being impressed with the soundness of the writer's political principles, the firmness and independence of his character, the excellence of his judgment, his statesmanlike ability, and manly patriotism:

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., March 9, 1868.

To His Excellency E. M. PEASE, *Governor of Texas:*

SIR:—Your communication of the 17th January last was received in due course of mail (the 27th January), but not until it had been widely circulated by the newspaper press. To such a letter—written and published for manifest purposes—it has been my intention to reply as soon as leisure from more important business would permit.

Your statement that the act of Congress "to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel States," declares that whatever government existed in Texas was provisional; that peace and order should be enforced; that Texas should be part of the Fifth Military District, and subject to military power; that the President should appoint an officer to command in said district, and detail a force to protect the rights of person and property, suppress insurrection and violence, and punish offenders, either by military commission, or through the action of local civil tribunals, as in his judgment might seem best, will not be disputed. One

need only read the act to perceive it contains such provisions. But how all this is supposed to have made it my duty to order the military commission requested, you have entirely failed to show. The power to do a thing if shown, and the propriety of doing it, are often very different matters. You observe you are at a loss to understand how a government, without representation in Congress, or a militia force, and subject to military power, can be said to be in the full exercise of all its proper powers. You do not reflect that this government, created or permitted by Congress, has all the powers which the act intends, and may fully exercise them accordingly. If you think it ought to have more powers, should be allowed to send members to Congress, wield a militia force, and possess yet other powers, your complaint is not to be preferred against me, but against Congress, who made it what it is.

As respects the issue between us, any question as to what Congress ought to have done has no pertinence. You admit the act of Congress authorizes me to try an offender by military commission, or allow the local civil tribunals to try, as I shall deem best; and you cannot deny the act expressly

recognizes such local civil tribunals as legal authorities for the purpose specified. When you contend there are no legal local tribunals for any purpose in Texas, you must either deny the plain reading of the act of Congress, or the power of Congress to pass the act.

You next remark that you dissent from my declaration, "that the country (Texas) is in a state of profound peace," and proceed to state the grounds of your dissent. They appear to me not a little extraordinary. I quote your words: "It is true there no longer exists here (Texas) any organized resistance to the authority of the United States." "But a large majority of the white population who participated in the late Rebellion are imbittered against the Government, and yield to it an unwilling obedience." Nevertheless, you concede they do yield it obedience. You proceed:

"None of this class have any affection for the Government, and very few any respect for it. They regard the legislation of Congress on the subject of reconstruction as unconstitutional and hostile to their interests, and consider the government now existing here under authority of the United States as an usurpation on their rights. They look

on the emancipation of their late slaves, and the disfranchisement of a portion of their own class, as an act of insult and oppression."

And this is all you have to present for proof that war and not peace prevails in Texas; and hence it becomes my duty—so you suppose—to set aside the local civil tribunals, and enforce the penal code against citizens by means of military commissions.

My dear sir, I am not a lawyer, nor has it been my business, as it may have been yours, to study the philosophy of statecraft and politics. But I may lay claim, after an experience of more than half a lifetime, to some poor knowledge of men, and some appreciation of what is necessary to social order and happiness. And for the future of our common country, I could devoutly wish that no great number of our people have yet fallen in with the views you appear to entertain. Woe be to us whenever it shall come to pass that the power of the magistrate—civil or military—is permitted to deal with the mere opinions or feelings of the people.

I have been accustomed to believe that sentiments of respect or disrespect, and feelings of affection, love, or hatred, so long as not developed

into acts in violation of law, were matters wholly beyond the punitory power of human tribunals.

I will maintain that the entire freedom of thought and speech, however acrimoniously indulged, is consistent with the noblest aspirations of man, and the happiest condition of his race.

When a boy, I remember to have read a speech of Lord Chatham, delivered in Parliament. It was during our Revolutionary War, and related to the policy of employing the savages on the side of Britain. You may be more familiar with the speech than I am. If I am not greatly mistaken, his lordship denounced the British Government—his government—in terms of unmeasured bitterness. He characterized its policy as revolting to every sentiment of humanity and religion; proclaimed it covered with disgrace, and vented his eternal abhorrence of it and its measures. It may, I think, be safely asserted that a majority of the British nation concurred in the views of Lord Chatham. But who ever supposed that profound peace was not existing in that kingdom, or that Government had any authority to question the absolute right of the Opposition to express their objections to the propriety of the King's measures in

any words, or to any extent they pleased? It would be difficult to show that the opponents of the Government in the days of the elder Adams, or Jefferson, or Jackson, exhibited for it either "affection" or "respect." You are conversant with the history of our past parties and political struggles touching legislation on alienage, sedition, the embargo, national banks, our wars with England and Mexico, and cannot be ignorant of the fact, that for one party to assert that a law or system of legislation is unconstitutional, oppressive, and usurpative, is not a new thing in the United States. That the people of Texas consider acts of Congress unconstitutional, oppressive, or insulting to them, is of no consequence to the matter in hand. The President of the United States has announced his opinion that these acts of Congress are unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, as you are aware, not long ago decided unanimously that a certain military commission was unconstitutional. Our people everywhere, in every State, without reference to the side they took during the Rebellion, differ as to the constitutionality of these acts of Congress. How the matter really is, neither you nor I may dogmatically affirm.

If you deem them constitutional laws, and beneficial to the country, you not only have the right to publish your opinions, but it might be your bounden duty as a citizen to do so. Not less is it the privilege and duty of any and every citizen, wherever residing, to publish his opinion freely and fearlessly on this and every question which he thinks concerns his interest. This is merely in accordance with the principles of our free government; and neither you nor I would wish to live under any other. It is time now, at the end of almost two years from the close of the war, we should begin to recollect what manner of people we are; to tolerate again free, popular discussion, and extend some forbearance and consideration to opposing views. The maxims that in all intellectual contests truth is mighty and must prevail, and that error is harmless when reason is left free to combat it, are not only sound, but salutary. It is a poor compliment to the merits of such a cause, that its advocates would silence opposition by force; and generally those only who are in the wrong will resort to this ungenerous means. I am confident you will not commit your serious judgment to the proposition that any amount of discus-

sion, or any sort of opinions, however unwise in your judgment ; or any assertion or feeling, however resentful or bitter, not resulting in a breach of law, can furnish justification for your denial that profound peace exists in Texas. You might as well deny that profound peace exists in New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, California, Ohio, and Kentucky, where a majority of the people differ with a minority on these questions ; or that profound peace exists in the House of Representatives, or the Senate, at Washington, or in the Supreme Court, where all these questions have been repeatedly discussed, and parties respectfully and patiently heard. You next complain that in parts of the State (Texas) it is difficult to enforce the criminal laws ; that sheriffs fail to arrest ; that grand jurors will not always indict ; that in some cases the military acting in aid of the civil authorities have not been able to execute the process of the courts ; that petit jurors have acquitted persons adjudged guilty by you ; and that other persons charged with offenses have broke jail and fled from prosecution. I know not how these things are ; but admitting your representations literally true, if for such reasons I should set aside the local civil

tribunals and order a military commission, there is no place in the United States where it might not be done with equal propriety. There is not a State in the Union—North or South—where the like facts are not continually happening. Perfection is not to be predicted of man or his works. No one can reasonably expect certain and absolute justice in human transactions; and if military power is to be set in motion, on the principles for which you would seem to contend, I fear that a civil government, regulated by laws, could have no abiding place beneath the circuit of the sun. It is rather more than hinted in your letter, that there is no local State Government in Texas, and no local laws outside of the acts of Congress, which I ought to respect; and that I should undertake to protect the rights of persons and property in *my own way*, and in an *arbitrary manner*. If such be your meaning, I am compelled to differ with you. After the abolition of slavery (an event which I hope no one now regrets), the laws of Louisiana and Texas existing prior to the Rebellion, and not in conflict with the acts of Congress, comprised a vast system of jurisprudence, both civil and criminal. It required not volumes only,

but libraries to contain them. They laid down principles and precedents for ascertaining the rights and adjusting the controversies of men, in every conceivable case. They were the creations of great, and good, and learned men, who had labored, in their day, for their kind, and gone down to the grave long before our recent troubles, leaving their works an inestimable legacy to the human race. These laws, as I am informed, connected the civilization of past and present ages, and testified of the justice, wisdom, humanity, and patriotism of more than one nation, through whose records they descended to the present people of these States. I am satisfied, from representations of persons competent to judge, they are as perfect a system of laws as may be found elsewhere, and better suited than any other to the condition of this people, for by them they have long been governed. Why should it be supposed Congress has abolished these laws? Why should any one wish to abolish them? They have committed no treason, nor are hostile to the United States, nor countenance crime, nor favor injustice. On them, as on a foundation of rock, reposes almost the entire superstructure of social order in these two

States. Annul this code of local laws, and there would be no longer any rights, either of person or property, here. Abolish the local civil tribunals made to execute them, and you would virtually annul the laws, except in reference to the very few cases cognizable in the Federal Courts. Let us for a moment suppose the whole local civil code annulled, and that I am left, as commander of the Fifth Military District, the sole fountain of law and justice. This is the position in which you would place me.

I am now to protect all rights and redress all wrongs. How is it possible for me to do it? Innumerable questions arise, of which I am not only ignorant, but to the solution of which a military court is entirely unfitted. One would establish a will, another a deed; or the question is one of succession, or partnership, or descent, or trust; a suit of ejectment or claim to chattels; or the application may relate to robbery, theft, arson, or murder. How am I to take the first step in any such matter? If I turn to the acts of Congress, I find nothing on the subject. I dare not open the authors on the local code, for it has ceased to exist.

And you tell me that in this perplexing condi-

tion I am to furnish, by dint of my own hasty and crude judgment, the legislation demanded by the vast and manifold interests of the people! I repeat, sir, that you, and not Congress, are responsible for the monstrous suggestion that the reare no local laws or institutions here to be respected by me, outside the acts of Congress. I say unhesitatingly, if it were possible, that Congress should pass an act abolishing the local codes for Louisiana and Texas—which I do not believe—and it should fall to my lot to supply their places with something of my own, I do not see how I could do better than follow the laws in force here prior to the Rebellion, excepting whatever therein shall relate to slavery. Power may destroy the forms, but not the principles of justice; these will live in spite even of the sword. History tells us that the Roman pandects were lost for a long period among the rubbish that war and revolution had heaped upon them, but at length were dug out of the ruins —again to be regarded as a precious treasure.

You are pleased to state that "since the publication of (my) General Orders, No. 40, there has been a perceptible increase of crime, and manifestations of hostile feeling toward the Government

and its supporters," and add that it is "an unpleasant duty to give such a recital of the condition of the country."

You will permit me to say, that I deem it impossible the first of these statements can be true, and that I do very greatly doubt the correctness of the second. General Orders No. 40 was issued at New Orleans, November 29, 1867, and your letter was dated January 17, 1868. Allowing time for order No. 40 to reach Texas, and become generally known, some additional time must have elapsed before its effect would be manifested, and yet a further time must transpire before you would be able to collect the evidence of what you term "the condition of the country;" and yet, after all this, you would have to make the necessary investigations, to ascertain if order No. 40, or something else, was the cause. The time, therefore, remaining to enable you, before the 17th of January, 1868, to reach a satisfactory conclusion on so delicate and nice a question must have been very short. How you proceeded, whether you investigated yourself, or through third persons, and, if so, who they were, what their competency and fairness, on what evidence you rested your conclusion, or

whether you ascertained any facts at all, are points upon which your letter so discreetly omits all mention, that I may well be excused for not relying implicitly upon it; nor is my difficulty diminished by the fact that in another part of your letter you state that ever since the close of the war, a very large portion of the people have had no affection for the Government, but bitterness of feeling only. Had the duty of publishing and circulating through the country long before it reached me, your statement that the action of the district commander was increasing crime and hostile feelings against the Government, been less painful to your sensibilities, it might possibly have occurred to you to furnish something on the subject in addition to your bare assertion.

But what was order No. 40, and how could it have the effect you attribute to it? It sets forth that "the great principles of American liberty are still the inheritance of this people, and ever should be; that the right of trial by jury, the habeas corpus, the liberty of the press, the freedom of speech, and the natural rights of persons and property must be preserved." Will you question the truth of these declarations? Which one of these

great principles of liberty are you ready to deny and repudiate? Whoever does so avows himself the enemy of human liberty, and the advocate of despotism. Was there any intimation in General Orders No. 40 that any crimes or breaches of law would be countenanced? You know that there was not. On the contrary, you know perfectly well that while "the consideration of crime and offenses committed in the Fifth Military District was referred to the judgment of the regular civil tribunals," a pledge was given in order No. 40, which all understood, that tribunals would be supported in their lawful jurisdiction, and that "forcible resistance to law would be instantly suppressed by arms." You will not affirm that this pledge has ever been forfeited. There has not been a moment since I have been in command of the Fifth District, when the whole military force in my hands has not been ready to support the civil authorities of Texas in the execution of the laws. And I am unwilling to believe they would refuse to call for aid if they needed it.

There are some considerations which, it seems to me, should cause you to hesitate before indulging in wholesale censures against the civil authorities

of Texas. You are yourself the chief of these authorities, not elected by the people, but created by the military. Not long after you had thus come into office, all the judges of the Supreme Court of Texas—five in number—were removed from office, and new appointments made ; twelve of the seventeen district judges were removed, and others appointed. County officers, more or less, in seventy-five out of one hundred and twenty-eight counties, were removed, and others appointed in their places. It is fair to conclude that the executive and judicial civil functionaries in Texas are the persons whom you desired to fill the offices. It is proper to mention, also, that none but registered citizens, and only those who could take the test oath, have been allowed to serve as jurors during your administration. Now, it is against this local government, created by military power prior to my coming here, and so composed of your personal and political friends, that you have preferred the most grievous complaints. It is of them that you have asserted they will not do their duty ; they will not maintain justice ; will not arrest offenders ; will not punish crimes ; and that out of one hundred homicides committed in the last twelve months, not

over ten arrests have been made ; and by means of such gross disregard of duty, you declare that neither property nor life is safe in Texas.

Certainly you could have said nothing more to the discredit of the officials who are now in office. If the facts be as you allege, a mystery is presented for which I can imagine no explanation. Why is it that your political friends, backed up and sustained by the whole military power of the United States in this district, should be unwilling to enforce the laws against that part of the population lately in rebellion, and whom you represent as the offenders? In all the history of these troubles, I have never seen or heard before of such a fact. I repeat, if the fact be so, it is a profound mystery, utterly surpassing my comprehension. I am constrained to declare that I believe you are in very great error as to facts. On careful examination at the proper source, I find that at the date of your letter four cases only of homicides had been reported to these head-quarters as having occurred since November 29, 1867, the date of Order 40, and these cases were ordered to be tried or investigated as soon as the reports were received. However, the fact of the one hundred

homicides may still be correct, as stated by you. The Freedmen's Bureau in Texas reported one hundred and sixty; how many of these were by Indians and Mexicans, and how the remainder were classified, is not known, nor is it known whether these data are accurate.

The report of the commanding officer of the district of Texas shows that since I assumed command no applications have been made to him by you for the arrest of criminals in the State of Texas.

To this date eighteen cases of homicide have been reported to me as having occurred since November 29, 1867, although special instructions had been given to report such cases as they occur. Of these, five were committed by Indians, one by a Mexican, one by an insane man, three by colored men, two of women by their husbands, and of the remainder some by parties unknown, —all of which could be scarcely attributable to order No. 40. If the reports received since the issuing of order No. 40 are correct, they exhibit no increase of homicides in my time, if you are correct that one hundred had occurred in the past twelve months.

That there has not been a perfect administration of justice in Texas I am not prepared to deny.

That there has been no such wanton disregard of duty on the part of officials as you allege, I am well satisfied. A very little while ago you regarded the present officials in Texas the only ones who could be safely trusted with power. Now you pronounce them worthless, and would cast them aside.

I have found little else in your letter but indications of temper, lashed into excitement by causes which I deem mostly imaginary, a great confidence in the accuracy of your own opinions, and an intolerance of the opinions of others, a desire to punish the thoughts and feelings of those who differ from you, and an impatience which magnifies the short-comings of officials who are perhaps as earnest and conscientious in the discharge of their duties as yourself, and a most unsound conclusion that while any persons are to be found wanting in affection or respect for Government, or yielding it obedience from motives which you do not approve, war, and not peace, is the status, and all such persons are the proper subjects for military penal jurisdiction.

If I have written anything to disabuse your mind of so grave an error, I shall be gratified.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HANCOCK,
Major-General Commanding.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FURTHER HISTORIC DOCUMENTS. REVOKING A SUMMARY REMOVAL FROM OFFICE, MADE BY HIS PREDECESSOR.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 4, 1867.

SPECIAL ORDERS, }
No. 202. }

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

2. Paragraph 3, of special orders No. 188, from these head-quarters, dated November 16, 1867, issued by Brevet Major-General Mower, removing P. R. O'Rourke, Clerk of Second District Court, Parish of Orleans, for malfeasance in office, and appointing R. L. Shelly in his stead, is hereby revoked, and P. R. O'Rourke is reinstated in said office.

If any charges are set up against the said O'Rourke, the judicial department of the Govern-

ment is sufficient to take whatever action may be necessary in the premises.

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By Command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

ORDER OF GENERAL HANCOCK REVOKING THE ORDER OF HIS PREDECESSOR, WHICH INTERFERED WITH THE SELECTION OF JURORS; AND DEFINING THE TRUE AND PROPER USE OF MILITARY POWER.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 5, 1867.

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 203.

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

2. The true and proper use of military power, besides defending the national honor against foreign nations, is to uphold the laws and civil government, and to secure to every person residing among us the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. It is accordingly made, by act of Congress, the duty of the Commander of this District to protect all persons in those rights, to suppress disorder and violence, and to punish, or

cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace, and criminals.

The Commanding General has been officially informed that the administration of justice, and especially of criminal justice, in the courts is clogged, if not entirely frustrated, by the enforcement of paragraph No. 2, of the military order numbered Special Orders 125, current series, from these head-quarters, issued on the 24th of August, A. D. 1867, relative to the qualifications of persons to be placed on the jury lists of the State of Louisiana.

To determine who shall, and who shall not be jurors, appertains to the legislative power; and until the laws in existence regulating this subject shall be amended or changed by that department of the civil government which the constitutions of all the States under our republican system vest with that power, it is deemed best to carry out the will of the people as expressed in the last legislative act upon this subject.

The qualification of a juror, under the law, is a proper subject for the decision of the courts. The Commanding General, in the discharge of the trust reposed in him, will maintain the just power of the

judiciary, and is unwilling to permit the civil authorities and laws to be embarrassed by military interference; and as it is an established fact that the administration of justice in the ordinary tribunals is greatly embarrassed by the operations of paragraph No. 2, Special Orders No. 125, current series, from these head-quarters, it is ordered that said paragraph, which relates to the qualifications of persons to be placed on the jury lists of the State of Louisiana, be, and the same is hereby revoked, and that the trial by jury be, henceforth, regulated and controlled by the Constitution and civil laws, without regard to any military orders heretofore issued from these head-quarters.

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By Command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

ORDER SUSTAINING THE JURISDICTION OF THE CIVIL COURTS OVER THE RIGHTS OF PRIVATE PROPERTY.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 16, 1867.

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 211.

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

4. Paragraph 3, of Special Orders No. 197, cur-

rent series, from these head-quarters, issued by Brevet Major-General J. A. Mower, in the matter of the estate of D. B. Staats, is hereby revoked, the local tribunals possessing ample power for the protection of all parties concerned. The property in dispute will be restored to the possession of the party entitled to the same by order of Court.

* * * * *

By Command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

ORDER TO SECURE THE PURITY OF ELECTIONS, AND TO PREVENT MILITARY INTERFERENCE AT THE POLLS.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 18, 1867.

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 213.

[EXTRACT.]

I. In compliance with the supplementary act of Congress of March 23, 1867, notice is hereby given that an election will be held in the State of Texas on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th days of February, 1868, to determine whether a convention shall be held, and for delegates thereto, "to form a constitution" for the State under said act.

* * * * *

IX. Military interference with elections, "unless it shall be necessary to keep the peace at the polls," is prohibited by law, and no soldiers will be allowed to appear at any polling place, unless as citizens of the State they are registered as voters, and then only for the purpose of voting; but the commanders of posts will be prepared to act promptly if the civil authorities fail to preserve the peace.

X. The sheriff and other peace officers of each county are required to be present during the whole time the polls are kept open, and until the election is completed, and will be made responsible that there shall be no interference with judges of election, or other interruption of good order.

As an additional measure to secure the purity of the election, each registrar or clerk is hereby clothed, during the election, with authority to call upon the civil officers of the county to make arrests, and in case of failure of the aforesaid civil officers, are empowered to perform their duties during the election. They will make full report of such failures on the part of civil officers to the Commanding General, Fifth Military District,

through the head-quarters, District of Texas, for orders in each case.

* * * * *

By Command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

ON THE STAY OF CIVIL PROCESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 20, 1867.

The Hon. E. HEATH, *Mayor of New Orleans:*

SIR:—In answer to your communication of the 30th ult., requesting his intervention in staying proceedings in suits against the city on its notes, the Major-General Commanding directs me to respectfully submit his views to you on that subject, as follows:

Such a proceeding on his part would, in fact, be a stay-law in favor of the city of New Orleans, which, under the Constitution, could not be enacted by the Legislature of the State, and in his judgment such a power ought to be exercised by him, if at all, only in a case of the most urgent necessity.

That the notes referred to were issued originally in violation of the charter of the city, cannot be

denied ; but the illegal act has since been ratified by the Legislature. The Corporation is therefore bound to pay them ; and even if a defense could be made on technical grounds, it would be disgraceful for the city to avail itself of it. Why, then, should the creditors of the city be prevented from resorting to the means given them to enforce the obligation ?

In support of your application you state that the city is unable to pay its debts. This is, unfortunately, the case with most debtors ; and on that ground nearly all other debtors would be equally entitled to the same relief.

The Supreme Court of this State has decided that taxes due a municipal corporation cannot be seized, under execution, by a creditor of the corporation, nor is any other property used for municipal purposes liable to seizure. If, therefore, a constable levies an execution on such property, he is a trespasser, and the city has its remedy against him in the proper tribunal.

It does not, therefore, seem to the Major-General Commanding that there is an urgent necessity which would justify his interference in the manner required. Besides, the expediency of such a

measure is more than questionable ; for, instead of reinstating the confidence of the public in city notes, it would probably destroy it altogether.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

ON THE TRIAL OF OFFENDERS AGAINST THE LAWS OF THE STATE.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., Decemrber 28, 1867.

His Excellency E. M. PEASE, *Governor of Texas:*

SIR:—Brevet Major-General J. J. Reynolds, commanding District of Texas, in a communication dated Austin, Texas, November 19, 1867, requests that a military commission may be ordered "for the trial of one G. W. Wall, and such other prisoners as may be brought before it," and forwards, in support of the request, the following papers:

1st. A printed account taken from a newspaper dated Uvalde, October ———, 1867 (contained in a letter of James H. Taylor, and in another from

Dr. Ansell, U. S. Surgeon at Fort Inge), of the murder of R. W. Black, on the ——— day of October, 1867. In this account it is stated Mr. Black was shot through the heart by G. W. Wall "while lying on the counter at Mr. Thomas's store."

2d. A letter of Judge G. H. Noonan to Governor Pease, dated November 10, 1867, informing him that "Wall, Thacker, and Pulliam are in confinement in Uvalde County for murder." In this letter it is asked, "Would it not be best to try them by military commission?"

3d. A letter from Governor Pease, dated "Executive of Texas, Austin, November 11, 1867," in which the Governor states that he received a telegram from Judge G. H. Noonan, an extract from which I transmit herewith. In the letter of the Governor the further statement is made that "Uvalde County, where the prisoners are confined, is on the extreme western frontier of the State, and has only about one hundred voters in a territory of about nine hundred square miles;" and he then adds, "It is not probable that they (meaning the prisoners) can be kept in confinement long enough ever to be tried by the civil courts of that county;" and expresses the opinion that they

never "can be brought to trial unless it is done before a military commission." And he therefore asks that a military commission be ordered for their trial.

From an examination of the papers submitted to the commander of the Fifth Military District, it does not appear that there is any indisposition or unwillingness on the part of the local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of, and to try the prisoners in question; and a suggestion made by the Governor that it is not probable the prisoners can be kept in confinement long enough to be tried by the civil courts (and which is apparently based on the fact that Uvalde County is a frontier county, and does not contain more than a hundred voters), seems to be the only foundation on which the request for the creation of a military commission is based. This, in the opinion of the Commanding General, is not sufficient to justify him in the exercise of the extraordinary power vested in him by law "to organize military commissions or tribunals" for the trial of persons charged with offenses against the laws of a State.

It is true that the third section of "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the

Rebel States," makes it the duty of the commanders of military districts "to punish, or cause to be punished, all disturbers of the public peace and criminals;" but the same section also declares that "to that end he may allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of, and to try offenders." The further power given to him in the same section, "when in his judgment it may be necessary for the trial of offenders," to organize military commissions for that purpose, is an extraordinary power, and from its very nature should be exercised for the trial of offenders against the laws of a State only in the extraordinary event that the local civil tribunals are unwilling or unable to enforce the laws against crime.

At this time the country is in a state of profound peace. The State Government of Texas, organized in subordination to the authority of the Government of the United States, is in the full exercise of all its proper powers. The courts, duly empowered to administer the laws, and to punish all offenders against those laws, are in existence. No unwillingness on the part of these courts is suggested to inquire into the offenses with which the prisoners in question are charged, nor are any ob-

structions whatever in the way of enforcing the laws against them said to exist. Under such circumstances there is no good ground for the exercise of the extraordinary power vested in the commander to organize a military commission for the trial of the persons named.

It must be a matter of profound regret to all who value constitutional government, that there should be occasions in times of civil commotion, when the public good imperatively requires the intervention of the military power for the repression of disorders in the body politic, and for the punishment of offenses against the existing laws of a country framed for the preservation of social order; but that the intervention of this power should be called for, or even suggested, by civil magistrates, when the laws are no longer silent and civil magistrates are possessed, in their respective spheres, of all the powers necessary to give effect to the laws, excites the surprise of the commander of the Fifth Military District.

In his view it is of evil example, and full of danger to the cause of freedom and good government, that the exercise of the military power, through military tribunals created for the trial of

offenses against the civil law, should ever be permitted, when the ordinary powers of the existing State Governments are ample for the punishment of offenders, or those charged with the administration of the laws are faithful in the discharge of their duties.

If the means at the disposal of the State authorities are insufficient to secure the confinement of the persons named in the communication of the Governor of the State of Texas to the General Commanding there, until they can be legally tried, on the fact being made known to him, the commander of the district will supply the means to retain them in confinement, and the commanding officer of the troops in Texas is so authorized to act. If there are reasons in existence which justify an apprehension that the prisoners cannot be fairly tried in that county, let the proper civil officers have the "venue" changed for the trial, as provided for by the laws of Texas.

In the opinion of the commander of the Fifth Military District, the existing Government of the State of Texas possesses all the powers necessary for the proper and prompt trial of the prisoners in question in due course of law.

If these powers are not exercised for that purpose, the failure to exercise them can be attributed only to the indolence or culpable inefficiency of the officers now charged with the execution and enforcement of the laws under the authority of the State Government; and, if there is such a failure, in the instance mentioned, on the part of those officers to execute the laws, it will then become the duty of the commander to remove the officers who fail to discharge the duties imposed on them, and to replace them with others who will discharge them.

Should these means fail, and it be found, on further experience, that there are not a sufficient number of persons among the people now exercising political power in Texas, to supply the public with officers who will enforce the laws of the State, it will then become necessary for the commander of the Fifth Military District to exercise the powers vested in him, by the acts of Congress under which he is appointed, for the purpose of vindicating the majesty of the law. But until such necessity is shown to exist, it is not the intention of the Commanding General to have recourse to those powers; and he deems the present a fitting

occasion to make this known to the Governor of Texas, and, through him, to the people of the State at large.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

CHAPTER XIX.

ON ELECTIONS BY THE PEOPLE.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,

OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 28, 1867.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. WOOD, *Commanding District of Louisiana, New Orleans, La.:*

COLONEL:—I am directed by the Major-General Commanding to acknowledge receipt of a letter from Nelson Durand, (forwarded by you), stating that the Treasurer of Avoyelles Parish, La., caused an election to be held, to ascertain if the citizens of the township were in favor of selling a school section belonging to the parish, and requesting an opinion as to the legality of said election.

In reply to said letter, I am directed by him to state that if the provision of the law were complied with in regard to advertisements, the manner of taking the sense of the inhabitants, and legal voters only were admitted to take part, there seems to be no reason why the action should be consid-

ered a nullity. It was not, properly speaking, an election, but a way prescribed by law of arriving at the will of the community, as regards the disposition to be made of certain school lands belonging to the parish.

The previous authorization of the Major-General Commanding is not considered necessary. But if the sense of the people was not duly regarded, (on the previous occasion) as to the foregoing requirements, the matter should be again referred to them for a free and legal expression of their opinion.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant, W. G. MITCHELL,

Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

ON REMOVALS FROM OFFICE WITHOUT JUDICIAL INVESTIGATION AND DETERMINATION.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,

OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., December 30, 1867.

His Excellency B. F. FLANDERS, *Governor of Louisiana:*

GOVERNOR:—I am directed by the Major-General

Commanding to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 11th inst., with papers and documents accompanying the same, charging the Police Jury, Parish of Orleans, right bank, with appropriating to their own use and benefit the public funds of said parish, and with being personally interested in contracts let by them, and recommending the removal from office of the president and members of said Police Jury; and, in reply, to state that these charges present a proper case for judicial investigation and determination; and, as it is evident to him that the courts of justice can afford adequate relief for the wrongs complained of, if proved to exist, the Major-General Commanding has concluded that it is not advisable to resort to the measures suggested in your Excellency's communication.

I am, Governor, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

Order of General Hancock Disclaiming Judicial Functions in Civil Cases.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,

General Orders, No. 1. New Orleans, La., January 1, 1868.

Applications have been made at these head-quarters implying the existence of an arbitrary authority in the Commanding-General, touching purely civil controversies.

One petitioner solicits this action, another that, and each refers to some special consideration of grace or favor which he supposes to exist, and which should influence this Department.

The number of such applications, and the waste of time they involve make it necessary to declare that the administration of civil justice appertains to the regular Courts. The rights of litigants do not depend on the views of the General—they are to be adjudged and settled according to the laws. Arbitrary power, such as he has been urged to assume, has no existence here. It is not found in the laws of Louisiana or of Texas—it cannot be derived from any act or acts of Congress—it is

restrained by a constitution, and prohibited from action in many particulars.

The Major-General Commanding takes occasion to repeat that while disclaiming judicial functions in civil cases, he can suffer no forcible resistance to the execution of process of the Courts.

By command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

COMMUNICATION CONCERNING AN APPLICATION BY A RAILROAD COMPANY.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 2, 1868.

HENRY VAN VLEET, Esq., *Chief Engineer:*

SIR:—In reply to your communication, requesting the Major-General Commanding to issue a certain order relative to the New Orleans, Mobile, and Chattanooga Railroad Company, I am directed by him to state:

That the order asked for embraces questions of the most important and delicate nature, such as the exercise of the right of eminent domain, ob-

struction of navigable rivers or outlets, etc., and it appears to him very questionable whether he ought to deal with questions of that kind ; nor is it clear that any benefit could result to the company from such an order.

So far as the State of Louisiana is concerned, there can be no difficulty in obtaining a decree of appropriation of the land which may be required for the enterprise, according to the existing laws, as the company has been regularly incorporated under the general corporation act. Be this, however, as it may, the question of *power*, which the company desires solved by the proposed order, belongs properly to the judiciary, and therefore the Major-General Commanding declines to take action in this matter.

If you desire, the papers in this case, together with a copy of this letter, will be forwarded to the Secretary of War.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,

Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs,

Order of General Hancock Revoking Certain Instructions Issued by his Predecessor to the Board of Registration.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
General Orders, No. 3. New Orleans, La., January 11, 1868.

Printed "Memoranda of disqualifications for the guidance of the Boards of Registrars, under the Military Bill passed March 2, 1867, and the Bill supplementary thereto," and "Questions to be answered by persons proposing to register," were distributed from these head-quarters in the month of May, 1867, to the members of the Boards of Registration then in existence in the States of Louisiana and Texas, for the registration of "the male citizens of the United States" who are qualified to vote for delegates under the acts entitled "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the Rebel States."

These "Memoranda" and "Questions" are as follows:

[The Memoranda, being lengthy, are omitted.]

Grave differences of opinion exist among the

best informed and most conscientious citizens of the United States, and the highest functionaries of the National Government, as to the proper construction to be given to the acts of Congress prescribing the qualifications entitling persons to be registered as voters, and to exercise the right of suffrage at the elections to be holden under the act entitled "An Act to provide for the more efficient government of the Rebel States," and the acts supplementary thereto. Such differences of opinion are necessary incidents to the imperfection of human language when employed in the work of legislation.

Upon examining those acts, the Commanding General finds himself constrained to dissent from the construction given to them in the "Memoranda" referred to. This construction would of course necessarily exclude all officers holding offices created under *special* acts of the State Legislatures, including all officers of municipal corporations, and of institutions organized for the dispensation of charity, under the authority of such special laws. Such a construction, in the opinion of the Major-General Commanding, has no support in the language of the acts of Congress passed on the 2d and the 23d

of March, 1867, which were the only acts in existence when these "Memoranda" were distributed. Since that time, however, what was before, in the opinion of the Commanding General, only an error of construction, would now be a contravention of the law, as amended and defined in the act of July 19, 1867.

The Major-General Commanding also dissents from various other points in the construction given to the disqualifying clauses of the acts in question, as shown by the "Memoranda" referred to, but he will add nothing further to what he has already said on the subject, because his individual opinions cannot rightfully have, and ought not to have, any influence upon the Boards of Registration in the discharge of the duties expressly imposed upon and intrusted to them by these acts of Congress as they now stand. The Boards of Registration are bodies created by law, with certain limited but well-defined judicial powers. It is made their especial duty "to ascertain, upon such facts as they can obtain, whether any person applying is entitled to be registered" under the acts. Their decisions upon the cases of individual applicants are final as to the right, unless appeals are taken,

in the proper form, and carried before competent superior authority for revision; and, like the members of ordinary Courts engaged in the exercise of judicial functions, it is the bounden duty of the members of the Boards of Registration to decide upon the questions as to the right of any applicant, on the facts before them, and in obedience to the provisions of the law.

Since the passage of the act of July 19, 1867, it is not only the right, but the solemn duty of the members of these Boards, each for himself, and under the sanction of his oath of office, to interpret the provisions of the acts from which the authority of the Boards was derived, and to decide upon each case according to the best of his own judgment.

The distribution of the above "Memoranda" was well calculated to produce the impression in the minds of the members of Boards of Registration, that they constituted rules prescribed to them for their government in the discharge of their official duties which they were required to obey; and it seems certain, from various communications of facts in relation to the mode of carrying out the registration, that they were so regarded by the members of the Boards, and that they not only in-

fluenced, but in point of fact controlled, the proceedings of the different Boards.

In consequence of this, and as the time for the revision of the registration in the State of Texas is now at hand, and the duty of making the revision will, it is probable, in a great degree, be performed by persons who are members of the Boards of Registration, to which the "Memoranda" in question were distributed for their guidance, the Major-General Commanding deems it of importance that the members of the Boards of Registration, and the people at large, should be informed that the "Memoranda" before referred to, distributed from the head-quarters of this Military District, are null and of no effect, and are not now to be regarded by the Boards of Registration in making their decisions; and that the members of the Boards are to look to the laws, and to the laws alone, for the rules which are to govern them in the discharge of the delicate and important duties imposed upon them.

For this purpose they will be furnished with copies of the acts of Congress relating to this subject, and of the amendment (known as Article XIV.) to the Constitution of the United States.

In case of questions arising as to the right of any individual to be registered, the person deeming himself aggrieved is entitled to his appeal from the decision of the Board, and the Boards are directed to make a full statement of the facts in such cases, and to forward the same to these head-quarters without unnecessary delay.

By Command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

ORDER FOR CONVENING A SPECIAL CIVIL COURT FOR THE TRIAL OF CRIMINAL CASES.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 2, 1868.

SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 1.

[EXTRACT.]

* * * * *

3. *Whereas*, The presence of an epidemic at Corpus Christi has prevented the holding of the usual term of the District Court of Nueces County, Texas; and

Whereas, A large number of criminal cases are on the docket of said Court that should be tried without delay:

It is therefore ordered, That a special term of the District Court for Nueces County shall be held

on Monday, the thirteenth day of January, 1868, for the trial of all criminal cases that may be brought before it.

Such Court shall continue in session for three weeks, unless the business before it is sooner disposed of.

All process in criminal cases shall be, and they are hereby made returnable to the said special term of said Court.

The proper officers of that county will cause the usual number jurymen to be drawn and summoned.

* * * * *

By command of MAJOR-GENERAL HANCOCK.
[Official.]

CONCERNING THE LEVY OF A SPECIAL TAX.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 12, 1868.

His Excellency E. M. PEASE, *Governor of Texas, Austin, Texas:*

GOVERNOR:—I am directed by the Major-General Commanding to acknowledge the receipt of your letter and accompanying documents, relative

to an application from the Mayor and City Council of Houston, for authority to hold an election to determine whether a special tax shall be levied for the purpose of raising means with which to cut a ship's channel to Galveston Bay, and to state that if the power to hold such election was not conferred upon the city of Houston by its act of incorporation, nor by any act of the Legislature, no such election, and no tax levied for such a purpose, would be legal.

I am, Governor, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

CHAPTER XX.

RELATING TO THE COLLECTION OF TAXES.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
OFFICE OF SECRETARY FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., January 15, 1868.

H. PERALTA, Esq., *Auditor of Public Accounts, New Orleans, La.:*

SIR:—I am directed by the Major-General Commanding to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., in which you state that the "taxes imposed by the Constitutional Convention cannot be collected through the ordinary process of collecting taxes in this State," and "refer the whole matter to him for his action;" and in reply to state that the tax-collectors of the parishes of Orleans and Jefferson, in their report to you of the same date, say that "the tax-payers have generally refused to pay the tax." By reference to the ordinance of the Convention, you will find "that the

Auditor of Public Accounts of the State shall, as under existing laws in relation to the collection of taxes, superintend and control the collection of said tax of one mill per cent., and shall give immediate notice and instructions to the different sheriffs and tax-collectors."

It does not appear, from your statement, that any process for the collection of this tax has issued, or that any other steps have been taken, except giving notice in the newspapers, and a demand to pay which has been refused. No resort has been made to those coercive means to enforce the payment of taxes pointed out by the laws of the State; this it is your duty to direct the tax-collector to do. When that is done, and forcible resistance should be made, the Major-General Commanding will, upon it being reported to him, take prompt measures to vindicate the supremacy of the law.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut.-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

Relating to the Collection of Taxes.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
Office of Secretary for Civil Affairs,
New Orleans, La., January 21, 1868.

Hon. Wm. P. McMillan and Hon. M. Vidal,
Special Committee :

Gentlemen :—The Major-General Commanding directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, and to state in reply that the second ordinance of the Constitutional Convention, adopted on the 4th of January, 1868, provides a new mode for the collection of the tax, and imposes penalties on defaulting taxpayers.

You request the Commanding General to state what his action would be should the Civil Courts of Louisiana interfere with the collectors in the discharge of their duties.

In this connection the Commanding General deems it unnecessary to repeat what he has already stated in reply to a previous letter concerning his authority on this subject.

It would be highly improper for him to anticipate any illegal interference of the Courts in the matter.

Whenever a case arises for the interposition of the powers vested in the Commanding General by the acts of Congress, he will promptly exercise them for the maintenance of law and order.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MITCHELL,
Bvt. Lieut-Col., U. S. A., Sec'y for Civil Affairs.

LETTER OF GENERAL HANCOCK TO GENERAL HOWARD, ON THE USURPATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

HEAD-QUARTERS FIFTH MILITARY DISTRICT,
NEW ORLEANS, LA., February 24, 1868.

Major-General O. O. HOWARD, *Commissioner of Bureau Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, Washington, D. C.*

GENERAL:—Referring to the report of Captain E. Collins, Seventeenth Infantry, Sub-assistant Commissioner of the Bureau Refuges, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, at Brenham, Texas, dated December 31, 1867, and transmitted by you for my information, I have the honer to state that I do not understand how any orders of mine can be inter-

preted as interfering with the proper execution of the law creating the Bureau. It is certainly not my intention that they should so interfere. Anything complained of in that letter, which could have lawfully been remedied by the exercise of military authority, should have received the action of General Reynolds, who, being Military Commander, and also Assistant Commissioner for Texas, was the proper authority to apply the remedy, and to that end was vested with the necessary power.

A copy of the report of Captain Collins had already been forwarded to me by General Reynolds before the receipt of your communication, and had been returned to him January 16th, with the following indorsement: "Respectfully returned to Brevet Major-General J. J. Reynolds, commanding District of Texas.

"This paper seems to contain only vague and indefinite complaints, without specific action as to any particular cases. If Captain Collins has any special cases of the nature referred to in his communication, which require action at these headquarters, he can transmit them, and they will receive attention."

No reply has been received to this—a proof either of the non-existence of such special cases, or of neglect of duty on the part of Captain Collins in not reporting them. It is, and will be my pleasure as well as duty, to aid you and the officers and agents under your direction, in the proper execution of the law. I have just returned from a trip to Texas. Whilst there I passed through Brenham twice, and saw Captain Collins, but neither from him nor from Gen. Reynolds did I hear anything in regard to this subject, so far as I recollect.

There are numerous abuses of authority on the part of certain agents of the Bureau in Texas, and Gen. Reynolds is already investigating some of them.

My intention is to confine the agents of the Bureau within their legitimate authority, so far as my power as District Commander extends ; further than that it is not my intention or desire to interfere with the Freedmen's Bureau. I can say, however, that had the District Commander a superior control over the freedmen's affairs in the district, the Bureau would be as useful, and would work more harmoniously, and be more in favor with the people. At present there is a clashing

of authority. I simply mention the facts without desiring any such control.

The Reconstruction Acts charge district commanders with the duty of protecting all persons in their rights of person and property; and to this end authorize them to allow local civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of, and try offenders; or, if in their opinion necessary, to organize a military commission or tribunals for that purpose.

They are thus given control over all criminal proceedings for violation of the statute laws of the States, and for such other offenses as are not by law made triable by the United States Courts. The Reconstruction Acts exempt no class of persons from their operation, and the duty of protecting *all* persons in their rights of person and property, of necessity invests district commanders with control over the agents of the Bureau, to the extent of at least enabling them to restrain these agents from any interference with, or disregard of their prerogatives as district commanders.

The district commanders are made responsible for the preservation of peace, and the enforcement of the local laws within their districts; and they are the ones required to designate the tribunals

before which those who break the peace and violate these laws shall be tried.

Such being the fact, many of the agents of the Bureau seem not to be aware of it. In Texas some are yet holding Courts, trying cases, imposing fines, taking fees for services, and arresting citizens for offenses over which the Bureau is not intended by law to have jurisdiction.

General Reynolds is aware of some of these cases, and is, as I have already mentioned, giving his attention to them.

In Louisiana, this state of affairs exists to a less extent, if at all.

I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. S. HANCOCK,
Major-General U. S. Army, Commanding.

About the date of the preceding letter, however, the time had arrived when it was thought necessary by the controlling powers at Washington to supersede General Hancock's administration in Louisiana and Texas, it being deemed an obstacle in the way of the Congressional plan of reconstruction, which contemplated the complete sup-

pression of the civil authorities of those States, and the substitution of military commissions. General Garfield, the chairman of the Military Committee in the House of Representatives, introduced a bill to reduce the number of Major-Generals in the Army, with the avowed object of getting rid of Hancock, and thus punish him for his steadfast subordination of the military to the civil jurisdiction. This bill, however, was never pressed to its passage, being deemed by those friendly to its object as too likely to excite a popular demonstration in favor of the persecuted individual.

A safer method was adopted. General Grant, having been invested by Congress with extraordinary powers, so as to be no longer responsible to the President, his constitutional commander-in-chief, was induced to interfere in such manner with General Hancock's official action as to humiliate him before the people he was sent to govern. This naturally soon led to General Hancock's application to be relieved of his command.

About this time he wrote to a friend in Congress, as follows :

. . . "I hope to be relieved here soon. The President is no longer able to protect me. So that

I may expect one humiliation after another, until I am forced to resign. I am prepared for any event. Nothing can intimidate me from doing what I believe to be honest and right."

His letter to Governor Pease, in which General Hancock vindicated the justice and policy of his administration, bears date the 9th of March, 1868, and on the 16th of the same month (seven days afterward) he was relieved of his command.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL HANCOCK'S NOMINATION.

On June 22d, the Democratic Convention assembled at Cincinnati. The proceedings of the next day, after the naming of candidates, were confined to one ballot. General Hancock was placed in nomination by Mr. Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, a born orator and a finished rhetorician, who worked up to the name of Winfield Scott Hancock with consummate skill, making the first genuine sensation of the session. Mr. Dougherty said :

I rise to nominate one whose name would reconcile all factions, whose election would crush the last embers of sectional strife, and be hailed as the dawning of the day of perpetual brotherhood. With him we can fling away our shields and wage an aggressive war. We can appeal to the supreme tribunal of the American people against the corruption of the Republican party and their untold violations of constitutional liberty. With him as our chieftain, the bloody banner of the Republicans will fall from

their palsied grasp. Oh! my countrymen, in this supreme moment, when the destinies of the Republic are at stake, when the liberties of the people are imperiled, I rise to present to the thoughtful consideration of this Convention the name of one who, on the field of battle, was styled "the superb," yet who has won a nobler renown as the military Governor, whose first act on assuming command of Louisiana and Texas was to salute the constitution by proclaiming, amid the joyous greetings of an oppressed people, that the military, save in actual war, shall be subservient to the civil power. The plighted word of the soldier was proved in the statesman's acts. I name him whose name will suppress every faction, is alike acceptable to the North and South, and will thrill the land from end to end. The people hang breathless on your deliberation. Take heed! Make no misstep! I nominate one who can carry every Southern State, and who can carry Pennsylvania, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New York—the soldier-statesman, with a record as stainless as his sword—Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania. If elected he will take his seat.

For the next five minutes after that telling sentence it was "Hancock," "Hancock," "Hancock," with a series of roof-raising yells.

Governor Hubbard, of Texas, said it was peculiarly fit that Texas and Louisiana should respond to Hancock's

nomination, because, when the war closed, there came down through the South a race of carpet-baggers, like the Vandals of old, preying on her wasted substance, and the jails and bastiles were filled with prisoners by order of the military Governors, and then, in that darkness of the night, there came a voice saying, "The war has closed; unbar your dungeons and open your forts." (Cheers.) That man was Hancock. "It is an easy thing," he said, "to be a summer friend. The world and hell are full of them. (Laughter and cheers.) But this man knew that he was in the power of the Republican party, and his official head was cut off. That is a man to whom it will do to intrust the standard of our party." (Cheers.)

The result of the first ballot was as follows :

	Delegates.
Hancock	171
Bayard	153½
Payne	81
Thurman	68½
Field	65
Morrison	62
Hendricks	50½
Tilden	38
Ewing	10
Seymour	8

	Delegates.
Randall	6
Loveland	5
McDonald	3
McClellan	3
Parker	1
Black	1
Jewett	1
English	1
Lothrop	1
Total delegates voting	729½
Absent	8½
Total delegates	738

NOTE.—Each delegate having, according to Democratic custom, only half a vote, the actual number of full votes in the above ballot can be obtained by dividing the number given by two. There are 369 full votes in the Convention; necessary to a choice under the two-thirds rule, 246, or the voice of 492 delegates.

On the 24th inst., Governor Stevenson called the Convention to order at 11 o'clock. The delegates arose while prayer was offered by the Rev. Charles Taylor. He prayed for that unanimity

and harmony in the Convention so needful to accomplish the patriotic end which it had in view; that individual members might lay aside their personal predilections for the highest welfare of the whole nation; that the choice of the Convention might result in the election of a man of enduring character, blameless in life, unsullied in reputation, and of exalted patriotism, and that those elected might occupy their stations.

After the prayer, the Chair recognized Rufus W. Peckham, of Albany. Mr. Peckham was addressing the Chair from the floor, when he was interrupted by cries of "Platform! Platform!" On the invitation of the Chair he obeyed the call. As his face appeared above the desk, it was greeted with loud applause. He said:

"I wish to make a statement on behalf of the delegation of New York. With great interest have they heard the votes in different States given for the honored statesman from New York, Samuel J. Tilden."

A whirlwind broke over the galleries. The cheering was long and loud.

Gov. Stevenson thundered on his desk with his ponderous mallet. "Gentlemen," he said, "order

must be preserved or the galleries must be cleared."

He had barely succeeded in allaying the storm, when some one sounded the Hancock war-cry, and there was a second cyclone. The Governor pounded his desk. He gave the galleries what he was pleased to term a final warning, and his admonition was repeated by a powerful sergeant-at-arms on the main floor.

Mr. Peckham said the delegation from New York had received a letter from Mr. Tilden, withdrawing from the field. Knowing him to be honest and straightforward, they took it as a renunciation of all claims. "And," said Mr. Peckham, "I now present this letter, to be used as this Convention may see fit. The New York delegation have agreed upon a candidate. He is a statesman without reproach, and one who is every way worthy of the highest station. They have decided to cast their vote in favor of the Speaker of the House of Representatives."

The Randall men broke into loud cheers, and half of the Iowa delegation rose and waved their hats. Mr. Peckham then formally placed Mr. Randall in nomination, and left the platform.

Gov. Stevenson said: "The Hon. Samuel J. Randall has been added to the list of candidates for the Presidency."

A delegate called for the reading of Mr. Tilden's letter.

Shouts of "No! no!" were heard, mingled with cries of "Vote! vote!"

The Chair tested the sense of the Convention by putting the motion for the reading of the letter to a *viva voce* vote. He declared the motion lost amid some confusion.

The Hancock men were evidently in a majority, and were forcing the fight. A resolution concerning the proscription of citizens for their religious beliefs was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The tumult continued. The names of candidates were read, and the clerk was directed to call the roll for the second ballot. Half the delegates were on their feet in conference, and every neck in the gallery was craned to catch the first response.

Alabama led off with 11 for Hancock, 5 for Bayard, and 4 for Field. It was a gain of 4 for the old clover-leaf corps.

Arkansas remained wedded to Field.

When California was called, the five pioneers of the watch-fire marched to the music of the Hancock bugle. Half of the delegates drew closer to the Field banner.

Colorado held firmly for Field.

Connecticut gave her English-American, 11 of her 12 votes.

Delaware remained devoted to Bayard, and Florida gave in her votes without a break.

"Illinois," shouted the clerk in a ringing tone of voice. The answer came back in measured words: "Illinois casts her 42 votes for Gen. Winfield S. Hancock."

The galleries saw its effect, and burst into a roar of enthusiasm. The Chair rapped in vain. Nine States out of the thirty-seven had been called. The Hero of the old Army of the Potomac had already gained 51 votes, and the pent-up feeling could not be restrained. Delegates arose in various quarters, and vigorously fanned the excitement. The Hancock banner began to dance before the great organ, and repeated swells of enthusiasm chased each other over the galleries. Five minutes passed, and there was comparative order.

The clerk called the State of Indiana.

Voorhees and McDonald were commanding a Spartan band. It stood solid for Hendricks, breaking the Hancock wave for a moment only.

Iowa tried to shoot through the breakers with a Randall crew, but left nine of her delegates on the sand. They voted for Hancock, and were loudly cheered.

Kansas re-enforced the nine Hawkeyes, and went solid for the patriotic soldier.

Kentucky also caught the fever. Eight of her delegates unrolled the Hancock flag. There was continual cheering along the line.

Louisiana and Maine threw their 30 votes in the scale as they had done on the previous day, thus adding to the enthusiasm. Hancock had gained 63 votes.

Maryland was called. They stood to their Bayard colors.

Eleven of the Massachusetts delegation went to Hancock, and were loudly cheered. An equal number ran over to Bayard.

Michigan came to the front with 14 Hancock recruits, a gain of nine, and Minnesota followed with a solid delegation. Eighteen States out of

37 had voted. Hancock gained 84 votes in a total of 167. Waves of applause were rolling over the Convention, and electric flashes were bringing into light the coming man.

Hancock gained 4 in Mississippi and 16 in Missouri. These figures threw his supporters into ecstasies. Every pulse was quickened, and cries of delight nearly drowned the roll call.

Nebraska went over to Randall, eliciting some laughter.

Nevada threw her strength away on Field, Randall, and Thurman.

New Hampshire became half Hancock and half Randall—and New Jersey was called, and asked the Clerk to pass the State for the present. It was done.

"New York," the Clerk shouted.

"The State of New York casts her seventy votes for Samuel J. Randall," Mr. Manning replied. Cheers followed, toned by a few hisses. The seventy votes had come too late in the day. New York was too far down on the roll.

The old North State gave her twenty votes for the man of Governor's Island, and the cheering was tremendous.

Ohio was called. Her Chairman asked permission to retire for consultation. It was granted, and Gens. Steadman and Durbin Ward, Mr. McSweeney, Judge Hoadly, and John G. Thompson, with their string of delegates, tranquilly went from the hall.

Oregon was called. She still kept step to Field music, nor did she show any sign of wavering.

Amid the greatest confusion Pennsylvania asked to be passed.

Rhode Island gave her votes to Hancock, and South Carolina clung to the chivalric Bayard. Twenty-eight of the thirty-seven States had voted, including the great State of New York. Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey were sulking. Hancock had gained 127 votes, and had a total of 232.

Tennessee felt the electric shock. She gave Field 2 votes, Bayard 8, and Hancock 14.

The Rangers of Texas traveled the same road, giving the Stainless Soldier 11 of her 16 votes.

Vermont, the former home of General W. F. Smith, threw her 10 votes solid for the nomination of his old comrade.

Virginia was in a quandary. She asked the in-

dulgence of the Convention, and was passed. Her twin sister gave Hancock 7 of her 10 votes, and Wisconsin turned in 10 of her 20. The Soldier Statesman had gained 145 votes, and had a total of 284. All eyes were turned toward the sulking States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia. New Jersey was the first called. She gave 7 votes for Hancock, leaving 4 for Bayard, 4 for Randall, 2 for Joel Parker, and 1 for Jewett. The Hancock legion greeted the announcement with fresh cheers.

"Ohio" was next called. Her benches were nearly empty. A stout gentleman in a check summer suit of clothing, understood to be Congressman Hill, replied: "Mr. Chairman, the chairman of the Ohio delegation is absent, but in obedience to instructions from 300,000 Ohio Democrats, I take it upon myself to cast her 44 votes for Allen G. Thurman." There were some hisses.

The State was passed.

A second time, in breathless silence, the Clerk called the State of Pennsylvania. Mr. Hoy returned 31 for Hancock, 26 for Randall, and 1 for Bayard. W. L. Scott had got in his work.

The Convention was wrapped in another flurry

of Hancock enthusiasm. It resembled the cheering of the old Second Army Corps. It had hardly died away before Virginia was called, and she divided nearly equally between Hancock, Bayard, and Field. Hancock, however, had made a net gain, and another wave of applause rolled over the hall.

All the States were in but Ohio. She was still sulking in an ante-room. The Convention was becoming impatient. The Buckeyes were spurred to decision. They ran into the hall from a side door, and returned 44 votes for Thurman. A shout of disappointment greeted the return, but it broke into a cry of joy when Pennsylvania corrected her vote by subtracting one from the Randall and adding it to the Hancock score.

All the States had voted, and the clerks were making their tally. The sulking States had increased Hancock's gain 15 votes, making a net gain of 160 votes over the first ballot. He had a total of 330 votes ; Randall was behind him with 128, Bayard was third in the race with 113, Field fourth with 65 votes, and the remainder were distributed between Thurman, Hendricks, Tilden, English, Joel Parker, and Jewett. Mr. Tilden had six votes.

It required 492 votes to secure the nomination, and Hancock lacked 162 of the required number. Before the figures could be footed, the Wisconsin delegation asked permission to change its vote. Every body was up, and the Convention was in the utmost disorder. The Chairman put the question:

"The State of Wisconsin asks permission to change its vote. Shall leave be granted? All of you in favor of it say aye." There was a storm of ayes both from the floor and from the galleries.

"All of you opposed say No," Gov. Stevenson shouted.

There were scattering nays, but they were almost inaudible in the general uproar.

"The yeas have it," the Governor said.

Wisconsin then cast her 20 votes for Gen. Hancock. The uproar increased.

New Jersey was up. She had settled her difficulties, and the face of Col. Zulick was wreathed in smiles. She swung into line right gallantly, and cast her 18 votes for Hancock. The din was deafening.

The Chairman recognized Mr. Hoy of Pennsylvania. He had struggled to the front of the plat-

form, and had mounted the seat of a Vermont delegate. His eyes were burning with excitement. The noise of the multitude decreased until it was an expectant murmur. The speaker was heard by the most of the delegates. He said that Pennsylvania was proud of Gen. Hancock and Randall —one a gallant soldier and the other an honest statesman. They were both honorable names, and both were worthy of the nomination. The Keystone State would not hesitate at the call of her sister States. On behalf of the united delegation from Pennsylvania, he was authorized to cast her 58 votes for Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock.

Hancock had received in all 377 votes. He was still 115 votes short of the required two-thirds.

All the State bannerets began to dance. The Randall men brought their gonfalons to the front of the stage, and planted them on each side of the great Hancock banner. The pennants of States were finally grouped around the picture of Gen. Jackson in front of the Chairman's desk.

Smith M. Weed, of New York, mounted his chair and sought recognition. Before he could obtain it, the whole Convention went crazy with delight. Apparently satisfied that the nomination of the

gallant soldier was a foregone conclusion, every delegate and spectator gave himself up to his impulses. Amid the roar W. J. Dowdall began to wave the blue pennant of Illinois. Umbrellas were opened, hats were raised on canes. The tiers of ladies near the great organ were turned into a foam of handkerchiefs. The picture of Hancock was planted on the Chairman's desk, and greeted with terrific cheering. The banner bore the following inscriptions:

RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY.

HABEAS CORPUS.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH.

THE NATURAL RIGHTS OF PERSONS AND THE RIGHTS OF PROPERTY MUST BE PRESERVED.

It was a tornado before which all other demon-

strations were mere showers. The band added a volume of harmony to the uproar, and the great organ thundered an accompaniment.

Dowdall, of Illinois, then mounted a tally clerk's table on the main platform, and sent the azure guidon of Illinois toward the ceiling.

Delegates from Mississippi and Virginia planted their pennants at the side of the Illinois guidon, and the golden rooster of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Hamilton County flew between them and crowed lustily. It was a scene of the wildest excitement. Two or three Oregon delegates fought for the honor of planting the banner of their State at the front. The hurricane lasted fully fifteen minutes. Gov. Stevenson became restless, and again lustily pounded his desk.

Smith M. Weed, still on the seat of the Vermont delegate, was appealing for recognition within ten feet of the old Governor's nose. He got it, and amid the subsidence of the gale, announced that New York had changed her 70 votes from Randall to Hancock. The gale broke out afresh under the general impression that the vote of New York had filled the required two-thirds, and that General Hancock was already the chosen standard-bearer

of the National Democracy. It was not so, however. His total vote was 447, being 45 less than the required two-thirds.

In the height of the second tornado, Ohio transferred her 44 votes to the winner.

Gov. Preston, of Kentucky, got the floor, and the countrymen of Henry Clay fell into line with two or three exceptions. It was the vote of Kentucky that really gave the nomination to the Union soldier.

The tornado was still roaring through the hall, and the confusion was indescribable. Tennessee went to Hancock in a solid body, howling her way to recognition. After that the States could not get over fast enough.

Barnum, of Connecticut, was on his feet shaking his fan at the Chairman, and Thomas S. Bocock, of Virginia, was shouting for recognition. Wade Hampton was propped on his crutches, awaiting an opportunity to announce the surrender of the Bayard men in the Palmetto State.

The clerks lost their tallies in the tumult, and there was a motion for a new call of the roll for a correct ballot. It was passed by a *viva voce* vote, and after an uproar lasting forty-five minutes, the

Convention finally dammed the flood of enthusiasm, and again got down to business. The Chair asked the galleries to restrain themselves until the roll call was finished and the result was announced. A loud-voiced deputy sergeant-at-arms repeated the request at the rear of the hall. The roll was called. Each State voted solid for Hancock until Indiana was called. She cast 30 votes for Hendricks, and went under with her colors nailed to the mast. A solitary Tilden straw floated on the surface when Iowa was called, and two Maryland delegates went to the wall in the fealty to Bayard. The votes of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania were loudly cheered. The ballot resulted as follows:

THE SECOND BALLOT.

States.	*Delegates*	*Hancock*	*Randall*	*Bayard*	*Field*	*Thurman* ...	*Hendricks* ...	*English*	*Tilden*	*Parker*	*Jewett* .....
Alabama	20	11	—	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
Arkansas.....	12	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
California.....	12	5	—	—	5	—	1	—	—	—	—

States.	Delegates....	Hancock.....	Randall.....	Bayard.....	Field.....	Thurman....	Hendricks....	English.....	Tilden.....	Parker.....	Jewett.....
Colorado	6	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Connecticut	12	—	—	1	—	—	—	11	—	—	—
Delaware	6	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Florida	8	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Georgia	22	7	—	5	10	—	—	—	—	—	—
Illinois	42	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Indiana	30	—	—	—	—	30	—	—	—	—	—
Iowa	22	9	12	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kansas	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kentucky	24	8	—	7	4	2	—	—	3	—	—
Louisiana	16	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maine	14	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maryland	16	—	—	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Massachusetts	26	11	3½	7	1½	—	—	—	2	—	—
Michigan	22	14	1	4	—	—	—	2	1	—	—
Minnesota	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mississippi	16	6	—	8	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Missouri	30	28	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nebraska	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nevada	6	—	1	—	4	1	—	—	—	—	—
Hew Hampshire	10	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
New Jersey	18	7	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	2	1
New York	70	—	70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
North Carolina	20	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ohio	44	—	—	—	—	44	—	—	—	—	—
Oregon	6	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	58	32	25	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

States.	*Delegates.....*	*Hancock.....*	*Randall. ....*	*Bayard.....*	*Field.....*	*Thurman....*	*Hendricks....*	*English.....*	*Tilden .....*	*Parker .....*	*Jewett .....*
Rhode Island.....	8	6	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
South Carolina.. .	14	—	—	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tennessee	24	14	—	8	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Texas	16	11	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vermont	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Virginia	22	7	—	8	7	—	—	—	—	—	—
West Virginia	10	7	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Wisconsin	20	10	—	2	2	1	—	5	—	—	—
Total.....	738	320	128½	113	65½	50	31	19	6	2	1

NOTE.—The total number of delegates voting was 736. One delegate from California and two delegates from Massachusetts (each of whom, in consequence of the admission of both contesting delegations, was entitled to half the voting power of a delegate from another State) did not vote.

REVISED VOTE ON SECOND BALLOT.

States.	*Delegates....*	*Hancock.....*	*Hendricks...*	*Bayard.....*	*Tilden.....*
Alabama.....	20	20	—	—	—
Arkansas	12	12	—	—	—
California	12	12	—	—	—
Colorado	6	6	—	—	—
Connecticut	12	12	—	—	—
Delaware	6	6	—	—	—
Florida	8	8	—	—	—
Georgia	22	22	—	—	—
Illinois	42	42	—	—	—
Indiana	30	—	30	—	—
Iowa.....	22	21	—	—	1
Kansas	10	10	—	—	—
Kentucky	24	24	—	—	—
Louisiana	16	16	—	—	—
Maine	14	14	—	—	—
Maryland	16	14	—	2	—
Massachusetts	26	26	—	—	—
Michigan	22	22	—	—	—
Minnesota	10	10	—	—	—
Mississippi.....	16	16	—	—	—
Missouri.....	30	30	—	—	—
Nebraska.....	6	6	—	—	—

States.	*Delegates....*	*Hancock.....*	*Hendricks....*	*Bayard.....*	*Tilden .....*
Nevada.....	6	6	—	—	—
New Hampshire ..	10	10	—	—	—
New Jersey	18	18	—	—	—
New York	70	70	—	—	—
North Carolina	20	20	—	—	—
Ohio	44	44	—	—	—
Oregon	6	6	—	—	—
Pennsylvania.....	58	58	—	—	—
Rhode Island.....	8	8	—	—	—
South Carolina	14	14	—	—	—
Tennessee	24	24	—	—	—
Texas	16	16	—	—	—
Vermont.....	10	10	—	—	—
Virginia	22	22	—	—	—
West Virginia.....	10	10	—	—	—
Wisconsin.....	20	20	—	—	—
Total.....	738	705	30	2	1

SUMMARY OF THE BALLOTS.

Candidates.	1*st ballot.*	2*d ballot.*	2*d ballot revised.*
Hancock	171	320	705
Hendricks	49½	31	30
Bayard	153½	113	2
Tilden	38	6	1
Randall	6	128½	—
Field	65	65½	—
Thurman	68½	51	—
English	1	19	—
Parker	1	2	—
Jewett	1	1	—
Payne	81	—	—
Morrison	62	—	—
Ewing	10	—	—
Seymour	8	—	—
Loveland	5	—	—
McClellan	3	—	—
McDonald	3	—	—
Black	1	—	—
Lathorp	1	—	—

AFTER THE NOMINATION.

A third whirlwind swept the Convention from its feet. The Hancock banner was again brought

to the front, and the band struck up "Hail Columbia," the great organ pealing an accompaniment. The band changed to the lively air of "Bully for Us," and Judge Hoadly and the wonderful McSweeny, of Ohio, essayed an old-fashioned hoe-down in the right aisle.

When order was restored, Wm. Mack, of Indiana, appeared at the Chairman's desk. He said he had heard hisses when Indiana had cast her last ballot for her favorite son. He trusted that they did not come from Democratic lips. The Indiana delegates had carried out the instructions of the Democratic State Convention. "On behalf of the Indiana Delegation," he said, "I rise to move that the nomination of General Hancock be made unanimous. He was Indiana's second choice, and when you hear from that State in the coming fall, you will find that she has again turned the flank of the Republican party, and is pointing the way to a Democratic victory." After the cheering had subsided, Samuel J. Randall and Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, came to the platform arm in arm, and advanced to the chairman's desk. This meant a united Democratic vote in Pennsylvania for Hancock. But the personal rivalries of party

leaders are not usually settled in this manner.

The Chairman said: "Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of introducing to you a distinguished gentleman, who has been voted for for President, and who desires to second the nomination. I present to you Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania. [Applause.]

Mr. Randall said:

SAMUEL J. RANDALL'S SPEECH.

FELLOW DEMOCRATS:—I am here to second the nomination of Pennsylvania's son, General Hancock. [Applause.] Your deliberations have been marked by the utmost harmony, and your act is an expression of the heart of the American Democrat in every State in the Union. [Applause.] Not only is your nomination strong, but it is one that will bring us victory [applause], and we will add another State to the Democratic column —the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania [applause], the keystone of the Federal arms. Not only is this acceptable to every Democrat of the United States, but is a nomination which will command the respect of the entire American people. [Applause.] I will not detain you longer than to say that you will find me in the front rank of this conflict, second to none, and that every energy of my mind, and every energy of my brain will be given

from now until we shall all rejoice in a common victory on the November Tuesday coming. [Applause.] There is a great mission ahead of the Democratic party, and you have selected a standard-bearer whose very nomination means that if the people ratify your choice, he will be inaugurated. [Applause.] I thank you for this cordial greeting, and I beg of you not to suppose for a moment that I am in the least discomfited, but on the contrary, my whole heart goes forth with your voice, and I will yield to no man in the effort which shall be made in behalf of your ticket chosen this day. [Applause.]

The Chair will have the honor to present to you Senator Wallace, of Pennsylvania, who desires to assure you that Pennsylvania is safe for Hancock.

Mr. Wallace then took the platform. He said:

MR. WALLACE'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—On behalf of the great Keystone State of the Union our delegation sends to you thanks and greetings. History repeats itself. In this great city of Cincinnati, the Democrats of the nation named their last President, and to-day they name their next. [Cheers.] History repeats itself. In those days they named a son of Pennsylvania, and to-day again they inscribe upon the banner of Democracy the name of a gallant son of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. He will lead us to victory. His name is invinci-

ble. The word rings out, "Advance the column, move on the enemy's works!" Let there be no defence, but aggression, aggression, aggression, and the victory is ours. [Cheers.] On behalf of that great Commonwealth as one of her sons, I came here to assure you that I feel, as does every member of her delegation, that you have given us in this nomination the means once more of placing the Keystone in the column of the Democratic States [cheers], and when November shall have come you will find that the energies of those who now clasp hands in behalf of this, our standard-bearer, will have worked wonders in that Commonwealth.

Eloquent addresses were then made by Wade Hampton, Mr. Breckenridge of Kentucky, John Kelly, and Col. Fellows.

Judge Hoadly said that the Democracy of Ohio was re-united by the nomination of Hancock, and the Chairman created some laughter by saying: "I now declare Winfield Scott the unanimous President of the United States." In a second he corrected himself. "I now declare," he said, "Winfield Scott Hancock the unanimous choice of this Convention as the Democratic candidate for the President of the United States." The organ pealed the "Star Spangled Banner." The band then

played "America," the organ coming in with thundering effect at the lines:

Land where our fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride.

When the music ceased the Randall banner was shown in new colors. It bore the inscription:

For President,
WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK
of Pennsylvania.

And it brought down the house. General Faulkner, of New York, said:

GEN. FAULKNER'S SPEECH.

Mr. President and Fellow Democrats:—You have heard from the State which four years ago gave you a candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. I am instructed to utter to you the voice of that great Commonwealth from which, in the person of that most illustrious of her Governors, you took your candidate for the first place in the Federal Government. That choice was ratified by the American people. Their choice was defeated by one vote in the Electoral Commission. The conspirator who cast that vote is now presented by his party as a fit candidate to be rewarded by a high office. On such a question, a question whether

the Presidency of the United States, having been once stolen, shall now be made an infirmary for political outcasts, New York in her strength will speak in November with her unanimous voice. [Applause.] In 1801, when Thomas Jefferson brought his great power in favor of popular rights against arbitrary power, he had the aid of John Breckenridge, of Kentucky. Winfield Scott Hancock will have the aid of another Breckenridge, whom I now introduce to you from the same State.

ENTER JOHN KELLY WITH THE PIPE OF PEACE—ANOTHER WILD SCENE.

Mr. Breckenridge had hardly concluded before there was a wild cheer at the further end of the hall. John Kelly, Judge Parker, Augustus Schell, Nathaniel C. Moak, and other luminary chiefs appeared. They were greeted with tremendous applause, all the delegation arising to receive them, with the exception of the one from New York. The Tammany men mounted the platform. Manning, Jacobs, Fellows, Faulkner, Beebe, Fox, Bliss, Norton, Bowe, Shea, and the representative members of the delegation sat as solid as marble statues, and gave no sign of life. There were loud calls for Kelly. He went to the Speaker's desk with a smile of triumph. He said :

MR. KELLY'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :—Your Chairman had told you that by your action of to-day in nominating Gen. Hancock, you have united the Democracy of the State of New York. [Shouts of applause and hisses.] He has told you truly. [Applause, and a voice "Hurrah!"] While myself and my brethren here on the right have been fighting each other politically for the last five years, they no doubt will agree with what I am going to say—let past differences be banished from our midst. [Great applause and cheers.] I am not going to speak to you now of what has occurred since we came to the city of Cincinnati. Never again shall I refer in a political way to what has transpired in the State in which we live. [Applause.] We have disagreed simply politically. Our personal relations were never severed, though sometimes our political anxieties often lead us into making passionate remarks against each other. In our sober moments, when we have time to reflect, then we see like sensible men, that we have committed an error, and are willing to ask each other's forgiveness. [Applause, cheers, and a voice, "Good for you."] I think that my friends here upon the right, as I said, agree with me upon this question, that the great State of New York cannot be carried unless there be a united Democracy in that State. Now that we are united, I think that it will be safe for me to say to this Convention, that there can be no doubt as to what the result would be in that State

in November next. [Great applause.] You have nominated not only a great soldier, but a statesman. When intrusted with power by the Government, he recollected the fact that he owed to the people of this country a duty, and when the Government expected, clothed with the military authority as he was, that he should take the place of the civil power, he, like a sensible man, like a true patriot, like a noble American, said: "Let the civil power first be tried, and when the military power is wanted to suppress riot, or to do anything else that may be needed to protect our Government, I am always your servant." Now, gentlemen, you have nominated a soldier. We have had a great war among the people of this country. We do not desire to discuss the question of the late war at all, but I think that under the circumstances you have nominated a gentleman, a soldier, a statesman, and a Democrat against whom nothing in the world can be said. [Great Applause.] Philip of Macedon, the father of the great Alexander, had his phalanx, and when the soldiers of his son were beaten and scattered, they resorted to the phalanx. We can say of Gen. Hancock, he has his phalanx and his soldiers in the hearts of the great American people. Now, Mr. Chairman, I shall say to this Convention, as I have said to my brethren from the State of New York sitting here as delegates. Let us return home to our own State, let us organize our party everywhere in the State, as I know we will, and the man who once refers to the story of the past, politically, of the State, whoever he may be, let him

be looked upon as a traitor to the Democratic party. [Loud applause.] Mr. Chairman, I thank this Convention for the kind reception which you have given me, and I have nothing in the world to say against what was the action of this Convention in relation to the organization which I in part represent. Let all of that pass away. I promise the Convention in my humble way and poor services, to do everything in my power this day forth until the day of election, to elect the Democratic ticket. [Loud applause and three cheers for New York.] And now let me repeat to my friends here on the right from the State of New York. Let us once and for all take each other by the hand and say this in common [loud applause], that we have a nobler duty to perform than to be fighting each other politically in our own State. [Applause.] Let us unite as a band of brothers, let us look on each other kindly and favorably, and when we act together, united as we must be, let me pledge again to the Convention that there can be no question whatever as to the result. [Loud applause.]

COL. FELLOW'S SPEECH.

Mr. Chairmam and Gentlemen of the Convention :—I am in no form for speech-making. Almost exhausted by the labors of this Convention, utterly without voice, I needed all the inspiration that the surroundings could give me, in order to enable me to respond to your call,

and, therefore, I prefer to speak from my seat. I wanted to gather inspiration from looking in that direction [indicating the ladies' gallery] instead of that. [Laughter.] I could have made a better speech down there, but you have commanded, and I obey. Gentlemen of the United States, your action to-day has been superb. [Applause.] You have restored all differences existing in the ranks of the Democratic party. You have healed all dissensions. We may march under the division banners of different generals, but we march to one battle field to fight one common foe. [Applause.] Henceforth that man is our friend, who best assists in carrying that banner to victory ; this is our enemy, and only he who lags in his duty in that respect. [Applause.] But you have done more, aye, infinitely more than to have settled the discords of a State; you have strangled by your strong hands to-day the giant of discord and strife, which has dominated our great country. [Applause.] The South and the North clasp hands now in no unmeaning ceremony, and Hancock shall hear again the roar of the Hampton gun in friendly strife. [Loud applause.] All over this land, by the success of this ticket, comes the return of fraternal concord, of brotherly love of the olden glow. You have restored us to a common union. Gentlemen, upon the stricken and impoverished States of the South, upon the graves where our dead repose, and in the homes where the living mourn, there shall fall a benediction, as though it was descended direct from God, the benediction of a just, perpetual enduring peace. [Applause.] I cannot

speak. I only stop to say that New York has but one response to make to Democratic nominations. She gives Democratic majorities. [Applause.] We shall march over that State as though we were sweeping it with a tornado, with Hancock at our head. [Applause.] From Montauk to Niagara, and everywhere along the route, the swelling chorus of Democratic voices, shall make music for the entire nation, till we write on our banner in November, 50,000 majority in the name of a United Democracy as the tribute of the Empire State. [Loud applause and cheers.]

CHAPTER XXII.

HANCOCK CONGRATULATED.

The Head-quarters of the Military Division of the Atlantic, on Governor's Island, New York Harbor, form the chief command of Gen. Hancock. On the morning of June 24th he breakfasted as usual, and left his handsome flower-trellised cottage at the usual hour and strode down to his office. There is no evidence to show that his pulse was quickened by a beat per minute, even when the clatter of a telegraph instrument fell upon his ear. The telegraph room is separated from his private office by the width of a hall. He went at once to his room, but soon afterward reappeared and came to this city. This was about 10½ o'clock. He returned on the boat which reached Governor's Island about a quarter past twelve, and went immediately to his office. There the routine business of the day was resumed without any variation, so far, at least, as the General was concerned. It remains

true, however, that when at seven minutes past 12 a certain dispatch was received, it did not wait long on the operator's table for a messenger. Capt. John S. Wharton hurried with it to the General. It was very brief, with no date and no signature. It was merely a bulletin sent out by the Western Union Telegraph Company from its main office in this city. It contained three words :

"Hancock is nominated."

The General did not even look at it. Capt. Wharton read it to him as he stood in front of the General's low desk, and then put it in his pocket. Capt. Wharton has it yet. What the General said he does not distinctly remember. He does not remember that he said anything, for he (the Captain) hurried away to announce the good news to "the boys in the office," meaning his fellow-officers at head-quarters. Very soon they came hurrying up to the General's room. There were present Gen. W. G. Mitchell, aid-de-camp, who was with Gen. Hancock through most of his battles ; Gen. James B. Fry, Assistant Adjutant-General ; Col. Charles Bird, Capt. Wharton, Surgeon Janeway, Major J. P. Sanger, and Lieut. G. L. S. Ward, aid-de-camp. Holding a station in the doorway, though

not the last to arrive, was Private John La Bau, who has served the General as an orderly since 1866. A storm of congratulations poured in upon Gen. Hancock, who arose from his chair and stepped up beside his desk.

"I will shake hands with you, gentlemen," he said, with an expression of countenance and a manner that implied that, however much he might desire it, he could do nothing more to express his feelings. So far as could be ascertained, these were the only words used by the General in his first speech of the campaign. Subsequently he replied to the congratulations of a reporter for the N. Y. *Sun*:

"I thank you. You cannot expect, of course, that I should say anything to you, under the circumstances in which I am placed, of public matters. What others say about me, however, you are quite welcome to have. I have received many congratulatory dispatches that it is, perhaps, only right should be given for publication. There are many, of course, from purely personal friends, that would not be interesting to the public, and which it would be improper for me to give you. These and all other information you will receive from Gen.

Mitchell, my old friend, who will also extend to you every possible courtesy."

Gen. Hancock was asked whether his visit to New York in the morning was on business in which the public would feel an interest.

"My visit was quite accidental," was his reply. "I have not been off the island before for a week or two."

Subsequently Gen. Hancock was asked by another person, whether he had not received a number of visitors that morning—politicians and other prominent men. He said he had not.

After receiving the congratulations of his fellow-officers, Gen. Hancock retired from his headquarters, and it is said that he paid another hasty visit to New York. He reappeared about four o'clock, and remained until after five o'clock. Then he went to his house, where he remained during the evening.

Soon after the news was received on the island, the wives of the officers hurried to the General's residence, and for an hour or two Mrs. Hancock held a levee, at which her husband was present a part of the time.

Gen. Hancock is a picture of health. He is

robust, urbane, careful of speech, and of winning address. A soldierly mustache, white as snow, finds a broad resting-place on his upper lip. His hair is yet a light iron-gray. His face is large and good. It inspires confidence. His eyes are of a light or bluish gray, and set wide apart. His nose, slightly Roman, is indicative of strength, and his forehead is high, sloping, and marked with firm lines at the base, over the bushy brows. The contour of his eyes and nose give a suggestion of executive force to his face. His lips seem firm or mobile, according to the mood he is in. His neck is large, and his chin is double. His stature and his tread make him a commanding person, wherever he may be.

Every soldier and every officer on the island, who was talked with, could not say enough of the General's generosity, his affability, his modesty, and his good sense.

"You can't be with him without loving him," said one of his staff officers.

On the island there was nothing in the way of parade to distinguish the day from any other Thursday. From the windows of the officers' houses, however, many flags were displayed. Al-

so, a band played on the green; but the band gives a concert every Thursday afternoon on the green.

The following congratulatory telegrams were received by General Hancock:

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: I cordially congratulate you on your nomination. SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK—*My Dear Sir:* Neither too soon nor too heartily can I express my great delight at your nomination for the Presidency. The Convention, in honoring you with its confidence, honored itself, and faithfully expressed the wish of the great Democratic party. With you for our candidate, I feel that the victory is assured.

HENRY HILTON.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: We have just thrown you our solid Pennsylvania vote, and congratulate you upon your nomination.

WILLIAM A. WALLACE.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: You are our nominee. Congratulations. DANIEL DOUGHERTY.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: Hearty congratulations to the next President of the United States.

WILLIAM PINCKNEY WHITE.

RICHMOND, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: The nomination makes me much gladder than you. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: I heartily congratulate you on your nomination, and regard your election as certain. JOHN J. CISCO.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: My hearty congratulations. New Jersey solid, and will stand by you as their sires did by Revolutionary patriots.

THEODORE F. RANDOLPH.

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: I congratulate you.

JOHN BIGELOW.

WILMINGTON, Del.

GEN. HANCOCK: Your nomination is honorable alike to you and the Democratic party. No one

congratulates you more sincerely, and no one will strive more heartily to elect you than I.

T. F. BAYARD.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: We congratulate you on your nomination. New York is sure for your election. JOHN KELLY,
AUGUSTUS SCHELL.

NEW ORLEANS, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Your nomination creates great enthusiasm. The Democracy of Louisiana send most cordial greetings. J. B. EUSTIS,
President State Central Committee.

PLYMOUTH, N. H.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: I suppose a Republican friend may be permitted to congratulate you.

TIMOTHY DAVIS.

HARRISBURG, Pa., June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Praise God, from whom all blessings flow. DR. HAYES.

TRENTON, N. J., June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Allow me to congratulate you. Second Corps ahead, as usual. GERSHOM MOTT.

[NOTE.—Gen. Mott was one of Gen. Hancock's old division commanders.]

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: Enthusiasm over your nomination intense. Randall, of Pennsylvania, just spoke. Vote unanimous. Nothing could have prevented the nomination.

DUNCAN S. WALKER,
Secretary of the Democratic National Committee.

WEST POINT, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Please accept my most hearty congratulations. J. M. SCHOFIELD.

COLUMBUS, O., June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Accept my sincere congratulations on your nomination. That you will be elected I have no doubt. A. G. THURMAN.

CLEVELAND, O., June 24.

MAJOR-GEN. HANCOCK: I beg to tender you my sincere congratulations on your nomination.

H. B. PAYNE.

HOUSTON, Texas, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Hurrah! Congratulations from Texas and ORD (Gen. E. O. C. Ord).

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Allow me to offer my cordial congratulations and confident predictions of your triumph in November. NORVIN GREEN.

NEW YORK, June 24.

GEN. W. S. HANCOCK: Your nomination consolidates the friends of good government, and your election is assured. DEMAREST BARNES.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: With all my soul I congratulate the republic rather than yourself upon your nomination. E. JOHN ELLIS.

READING, Pa., June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: The hills of Berks reverberate with 100 guns in honor of your victory. Thanks to God for the triumph of the people in November assured. S. E. ANCONA.

COLUMBUS, Miss.

GEN. HANCOCK: Mississippi is faithful to you, and will do her whole duty.

BEVERLY MATTHEWS.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Buell tells me that Murat Hal-

stead says Hancock's nomination by Confederate Brigadiers sets the old rebel yell to the music of the Union. How is that for keynote of campaign? It will be solemn music for Republicans to face.

WILLIAM A. WALLACE.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: I sincerely congratulate you and greet you as our next President.

EPPA HUNTON.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: With all my heart I congratulate you. I had expected this result for the last twelve years. You will be elected.

D. W. VOORHEES.

CINCINNATI, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Please accept my heartiest congratulations. Ohio is already booming for you.

MILTON SAYLER.

MILWAUKEE, June 24.

GEN. HANCOCK: Allow me to offer you my sincere congratulations. I may equally congratulate the party and the country on the good fortune which led the Convention to the selection it has

made, and on the excellent prospect of the ratification of its choice by the American people.

ALEXANDER MITCHELL.

THE PLATFORM.

The Democrats of the United States in Convention assembled declare:

First—We pledge ourselves anew to the constitutional doctrines and traditions of the Democratic party as illustrated by the teaching and example of a long line of Democratic statesmen and patriots, and embodied in the platform of the last National Convention of the party.

Second—Opposition to centralizationism, and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever be the form of government, a real despotism. No sumptuary laws; separation of Church and State for the good of each; common schools fostered and protected.

Third—Home rule, honest money, consisting of gold and silver and paper, convertible to coin on demand. The strict maintenance of the public faith, State and national, and a tariff for revenue only.

Fourth—The subordination of the military to the civil power, and a general and thorough reform of the civil service.

Fifth—The right to a free ballot is the right preservative of all rights, and must and shall be maintained in every part of the United States.

Sixth—The existing Administration is the representative of conspiracy only, and its claim of right to surround the ballot-boxes with troops and deputy marshals to intimidate and obstruct the electors, and the unprecedented use of the veto to maintain its corrupt and despotic power, insults the people and imperils their institutions.

Seventh—The great fraud of 1876–7, by which, upon a false count of the electoral votes of two States, the candidate defeated at the polls was declared to be President, and for the first time in American history the will of the people was set aside under a threat of military violence, struck a deadly blow at our system of representative government. The Democratic party, to preserve the country from the horrors of a civil war, submitted for the time, in firm and patriotic faith that the people would punish this crime in 1880. This issue precedes and dwarfs every other. It imposes a more sacred duty upon the people of the Union than ever addressed the conscience of a nation of freemen.

Eighth—We execrate the course of this Administration in making places in the civil service a reward for political crime, and demand a reform by statute which shall make it forever impossible for the defeated candidate to bribe his way to the seat of a usurper by billeting villains upon the people.

Ninth—The resolution of Samuel J. Tilden not again to be a candidate for the exalted place to which he was elected by a majority of his countrymen, and from which he was excluded by the leaders of the Republican party,

is received by the Democrats of the United States with sensibility, and they declare their confidence in his wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, unshaken by the assault of a common enemy; and they further assure him that he is followed in the retirement he has chosen for himself by the sympathy and respect of his fellow-citizens, who regard him as one who, by elevating the standards of public morality, and adorning and purifying the public service, merits the lasting gratitude of his country and his party.

Tenth—Free ships and a living chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land. No discrimination in favor of transportation lines, corporations, or monopolies.

Eleventh—Amendment of the Burlingame treaty. No more Chinese immigration except for travel, education, and foreign commerce, and therein carefully guarded.

Twelfth—Public money and public credit for public purposes solely, and public land for actual settlers.

Thirteenth—The Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man, and pledges itself to protect him alike against the cormorants and the commune.

Fourteenth—We congratulate the country upon the honesty and thrift of a Democratic Congress which has reduced the public expenditure $40,000,000 a year; upon the continuation of prosperity at home and the national honor abroad, and above all, upon the promise of such a change in the administration of the Government as shall insure us genuine and lasting reform in every department of the public service.

THE NEW NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Alabama—Levi W. Lawler.
Arkansas—John J. Sumpter.
California—James T. Farley.
Colorado—T. M. Patterson.
Connecticut—Wm. H. Barnum.
Delaware—Ignatius C. Grubb.
Florida—Samuel Pasco.
Georgia—George F. Barnes.
Illinois—Wm. C. Goudy.
Indiana—Austin H. Brown.
Iowa—M. M. Ham.
Kansas—Chas. W. Blair.
Kentucky—Henry D. McKenry.
Louisiana—B. F. Jones.
Maine—Edmund Wilson.
Maryland—Outerbridge Hersey.
Massachusetts—Frederick O. Prince.
Michigan—Edward Kanter.
Minnesota—P. H. Kelly.
Mississippi—Gen. W. T. Martin.
Missouri—John G. Prather.
Nebraska—J. Sterling Morton.
Nevada—J. C. Hagerman.
New Hampshire—Alvah N. Sulloway.
New York—Abram S. Hewitt.
North Carolina—M. W. Ransom.

Ohio—(Not named.)
Oregon—(Not named.)
Pennsylvania—(Not named.)
Rhode Island—Abner J. Barnaby.
South Carolina—F. W. Dawson.
Tennessee—Thomas O'Connor.
Texas—F. S. Stockdale.
Vermont—Bradley B. Smalley.
Virginia—Robert A. Coghill.
Wisconsin—Wm. F. Vilas.
West Virginia—Alexander Campbell.

CHAPTER XXIII

HANCOCK AS A TACTICIAN.

THE following letter has been sent to the author by a distinguished military tactician, who was a Confederate General during the Rebellion, and who has recently conducted a military expedition to Central Africa, to annex the equatorial provinces to the dominion of the Khedive. Before the war Gen. Colston was instructor in tactics in the military institute of which Stonewall Jackson was president.

NEW YORK, July 28, 1880.

Dear Sir:

I was very glad to learn from you that your biography of Gen. Hancock will very soon appear, and I hope it will have a wide circulation all over the land and meet with complete success.

Looking at Gen. Hancock's military career, I think he ranks among the very highest in the profession of arms. I cannot, within these limits,

discuss this proposition at length, and I present only one consideration.

Wellington's fame rests chiefly upon the victory of Waterloo, and that victory was due to his selection of the defensive position of Mont St. Jean. He was strongly urged to retreat through the forest of Soignies and give battle nearer to Brussels. It may be idle (in one sense) to discuss events which might have taken place, but never did; yet it is such discussions which enable us to form correct judgments both of the past and present. If Wellington's military eye had not discerned the advantages of the position he chose, the battle would have been fought at some other point probably less advantageous, and with probably different results.

Every one familiar with military history has remarked the many points of resemblance between Waterloo and Gettysburg. Now, it is well known that Meade was strongly inclined and urged to retreat from the environs of Gettysburg, with the purpose of giving battle elsewhere. Lee, conducting a campaign of invasion, was compelled to fight an offensive battle. *He* could not retreat before an intact and superior army. He *must* at-

tack it wherever it made a stand. To Hancock's eternal renown as a General, it is acknowledged that he being charged with selecting a battle-ground, chose the positions at Gettysburg which assured to the Union Army the most decisive victory of the war, because it was the turning point of the Confederate fortunes and the last chance of success for their cause. Every one remembers what a desperate battle it was, and how probably the result would have differed but for the advantages of position secured by Hancock's judgment. Had Meade retreated and fought the battle in some *less* favorable position (he could not have formed one *more* so) it might have changed the history of our times. The judgment and military talent thus exhibited by Hancock were equaled only by his magnificent personal valor when riding along the whole front of his line under the fire of 150 Confederate guns in order to inspire confidence and keep his troops steady under that tremendous fire. Such an example of military skill and heroic bravery is unsurpassed in military history.

The soldiers of the Southern armies always respected and admired Hancock during the war,

because of his skill, bravery, and chivalrous bearing. If any cannot understand this feeling it is because they never experienced

> the stern joy that warriors feel
> To meet foemen worthy of their steel.

This sentiment was heightened into gratitude and affection when he refused to trample upon the fallen, and proclaimed his respect for the laws, which might be silent during the clash of arms, but which were the right and inheritance even of the conquered. Let us hope that his triumphant election will seal the eternal reconciliation of the whole country, and confirm a perpetual Union in truth as well as in name.

With best wishes for the success of your work,

I remain,

Very sincerely yours,

R. E. Colston.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Biographies, limited as to length, and designed for special occasions, like a Presidential Campaign, must in their nature be very imperfect narratives of the life of the subject-hero. Yet in this volume I have presented a considerable quantity of material from various pens—much of it *en bloc*, and without comment—in the hope of producing a polyglot biography that should make conspicuous the salient points of Gen. Hancock's character, and the prominent events in which this chief actor was the master spirit.

These pages teach us that no citizen, since our Federal Government was formed, has united rarer qualities for the administration of civil or military power.

He began life with an honorable lineage to stimulate him by worthy example.

His academic days were those of golden promise.

His private life has been a story of tenderness and devotion.

He is the foremost of American gentlemen in the highest sense of that term—of magnetic and commanding presence, of dauntless courage, of attentive courtesy, of winning and not perfunctory dignity—unconscious of himself.

It will be no new experience nor sudden elevation should he be named in November as the head of the Nation.

It will be the rounding off of a career in which his political adversaries see nothing but credit, glory, and honor.

It will be his country's recognition that he belongs to the few great liberal leaders of recent times—to the Round Table of positive statesmen, who determine, fashion, and crystalize events which, as Time rolls on, become great and historic —to the circle of Gladstone, Thiers, Castelar, Gambetta, and John Bright.

THE END.

"To know well the local and natural man; to track the silent march of human affairs; to seize with happy intuition on those great laws which regulate the prosperity of empires; to reconcile principles to circumstances, and be no wiser than the times will permit, is a task which they will fear most who know it best."